

Z I M B A B W E

An exclusive
report by
James North

One Year After



Kevin Danaher

Feds Flip the Switch

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THE INSIDE STORY



Mazzochi would use the OCAW presidency as a platform for trade union revival.

Tony Mazzochi has a different idea

By David Moberg

"I think the labor movement is in a crisis. For the first time I think it is a crisis of institutional survival. Whereas in the past the corporations were prepared to live with the union, that accommodation has come to an end. Labor leadership in general has failed to understand this new development."

Anthony Mazzochi, now health and safety director of the 180,000-member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, wants to confront this crisis with a revived labor movement that is an inspiring crusade, drawing in millions of new members as well as dedicated organizers. And he thinks that can happen if the labor movement develops its own political party and pushes its own program to combat corporate control of society.

Mazzochi, 54, who has served in positions from local union president to Washington legislative director and vice-president of the union, is challenging incumbent Robert F. Goss for president. Two years ago, Goss defeated Mazzochi 83,618 to 80,485 after then-president A.F. Grosperon suddenly stepped down from office. This year's race, to be decided at the August union convention, is expected to be close once again. Recently Mazzochi talked with *In These Times* about the current condition of the labor movement. (Goss was not available at this time for an interview.)

During the past decades of accommodation, Mazzochi argues, the labor movement has weakened itself, and that weakness shows up especially now in politics. Even the better programs of organized labor "have been reduced to rhetoric," he argues, "because the labor movement hasn't really addressed the means of implementing the policy, the question of opening the dialogue on political alternatives, the question of whether working people should have their own party. We're not going to implement any program unless we come to grips with that fundamental question."

His experience as legislative director for 12 years helped to convince him that the strategy of building a left-labor bloc within the Democratic Party is futile. "In the absence of a party, the right will move the existing political apparatus totally to the right," he says. "I see us going through a phase like the New Democratic Party [in Canada] where we hold the balance of power and we can change the nature of political debate. A

guy can't bend way to the right if we're there saying, 'What about plant shutdowns?'"

But Mazzochi has no imported model: "The United States is the United States, and it's absolutely different." Likewise, beyond a commitment to democratic control and opposition to all forms of hierarchical domination, Mazzochi thinks both the form such a party should take and its objectives should flow from discussions that could now begin in various central and state labor bodies around the country.

"Years ago, it was different," he says. "You couldn't get a discussion of a labor party within labor as an institution, from the locals on up. Today that situation is different. People want to talk about it."

What is essential, he believes, is that working people and unions, not middle-class professionals or the non-labor assortment of people who started the Citizens Party, should found the new party as a clear class expression with an overriding focus on economic issues, which in turn can frame discussion of other major questions such as civil rights, women's rights, or protection of the environment. But would workers create a progressive party, as Mazzochi wants, or have they turned conservative?

"I don't think they're getting more conservative," he says. "I think in the absence of any alternatives, they'll be frustrated, and if the only articulation in a populist context comes from the right they'll respond, if they don't hear it from another direction."

Genetic confrontation.

The new party, he argues, would emerge as an alternative to developing bipartisan "Party of Cancer." Mazzochi, who has been strongly identified with the workers' health and safety movement for many years, sees the coming decade as a time of "genetic confrontation" and heightened concern over cancer as corporations attempt to beat back regulations and push productivity at the expense of workers' health.

"Cancer is the cornerstone of the American industrial process," he says. "There's an institutional imperative that you have to kill people to produce things." As corporations try to screen workers rather than clean up the workplace environment, unions will face new political and collective bargaining tasks to guarantee all workers a right to safe jobs.

"My father worked at lousy jobs, figuring his son would have it better," Mazzochi says. "This generation feels the same way. So when people realize that, by virtue of their work, they doom the yet unborn generation, the level of indignation is going to be appreciably higher."

Political and collective bargaining success requires greater organization of potential union members. (The Bureau of Labor Statistics, for example, estimates that between one-fourth and one-half of the petroleum refining industry and less than one-fourth of chemical industry is organized.) But, Mazzochi says, "I don't think we can organize the unorganized in this country unless we have a separate political apparatus. People will look to the labor movement as it is able to develop a public agenda and as it begins to stand for something. That creates a whole different climate, a whole different image. Then it is not just selling an institution: 'We can get you a few extra cents an hour'—and a lot of unions can't even do that any more. I think we have the capability of exploding in membership gains if we develop an alternative political option."

One of the big problems with organizing, Mazzochi argues, is that "a lot of the leadership has really become separate from the rank and file. People belong to

unions because they have to in many instances. They don't feel any great affinity. It's not a crusade, a cause any more." He proposes more actions such as the National Organizing Week he put together when he was vice-president. Hundreds of volunteer rank-and-file members converged on unorganized plants with leaflets and other materials after a campaign within the union to educate and mobilize them.

"The people felt like the union really meant something," Mazzochi recalls. "There was this spirit of working together, this strong physical presence at plant gates. And the response of the unorganized workers was 'Where have you guys been all these years?'" Such techniques, linked with other unions as well, could stir up not only the members but also lethargic union staff who have come to treat their work as just a comfortable job, Mazzochi believes.

Likewise Mazzochi calls for a new approach to collective bargaining, especially in oil, which is a rich, powerful, multinational industry with plants that are highly automated and staffed by a huge administrative workforce excluded from the collective bargaining unit under Taft-Hartley definitions. Mazzochi is particularly critical of Goss' handling of the last oil strike.

"Here we had a collective bargaining program and a subsequent strike, the longest in oil worker history," he charges. "The president of the union truly did not understand the process of collective bargaining, did not assess appropriately the strength of the industry and failed to mobilize public opinion, failed to mobilize an anti-corporate coalition that could have dealt with the issues and the industry. Instead he made it a very closed affair that involved only us and the industry. The strike was invisible to the American people."

Mazzochi argues for turning such strikes into anti-corporate campaigns, using community organizers to mobilize support and pressure the oil companies, thus building a political threat to their power. But he has no hopes that nationalization of the oil companies would improve matters for workers in the industry.

As union president, Mazzochi would try to bargain for greater control over plant shutdowns, which are now hitting the oil industry hard, but recognizes limits to what bargaining can accomplish. He also says he would propose worker control over a comprehensive health fund, paid for by the companies, that would monitor all worker illnesses and provide comprehensive health care. Although he supports the union position on nuclear power—that is, the nuclear industry should be developed but only with complete safeguards at every stage of production—Mazzochi argues that any worker entering the nuclear field should be guaranteed lifetime income protection in event of a total shutdown of the industry. (About 12,000 OCAW members are in the nuclear industry, mainly in the mining and processing stages of production.)

Mazzochi was strongly influenced by his Italian immigrant father, an active trade union member and anti-fascist political organizer in his conservative Italian neighborhood in New York. Young Tony fibbed about his age to get into the army to fight in World War II. When he returned he bounced through several jobs before winning election to the local union presidency at a cosmetics plant when he was 22, soon moving on to other elected and appointed offices. He was an early organizer against nuclear weapons testing and supported the civil rights and Vietnam anti-war movements.

Though Mazzochi will not be able to count on the large Canadian plurality he won last time (that section of the union is now autonomous), his supporters count

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IN THESE TIMES

Dunkirk near for mass transit

Glen Yago has been investigating the critical problems of public transit in New York, Boston, Chicago and Philadelphia for *In These Times*. In this article he describes the crisis. In subsequent articles he will report on what transit workers and riders are doing about it, how the Reagan transit policies are shaping up, and what a rational public transit program might look like.

By Glen Yago

NEW YORK

PUBLIC TRANSIT IS BECOMING a source of private despair. Earphones sprout from the ears of the well-to-do, the urban underclass blasts disco and salsa from the subway platforms, and others—treking to and from work—shrug and wince at the screeching of rail systems neglected and destroyed in the age of motors and space. "It is scary," said one Boston transit union leader. "The system is collapsing from within."

Transit officials and workers seem less panicky than resigned, reflecting the "increased apathy and depression" of transit riders reported by New York mental health officials during the traumas of last winter's delays. A quickening sense of the Last Days is upon us. Community leaders, planners and city officials talk less of the "crisis" and "decline" of mass transit and more of "disaster" and "collapse."

The "urban crisis" has been bemoaned for more than a decade, and the most visible sign of crumbling cities is the transit systems that exhibit every dimension of that crisis—fiscal, physical, social and political. Since fall, Boston and New York have declared an official state of emergency; Philadelphia and Chicago face their days of reckoning by summer. These four cities account for more than 50 percent of American transit ridership and each is on the verge of financial collapse. The annual operating deficit in New York is conservatively estimated at \$155 million, \$116 million in Boston, \$63 million in Chicago, and \$16 million in Philadelphia. Currently, big city mayors and governors are busy cutting political deals to defer disaster, while many smaller cities may soon follow the example of Birmingham, Ala., and abandon public transportation altogether.

Simultaneously, the Reagan administration is calling for an end to federal subsidies for transit that would boost deficits by \$116 in New York City, \$30 million in Boston, \$47 million in Philadelphia and \$52 million in Chicago.

The balance of misery.

Cities have always borrowed heavily for capital projects like mass transit, thereby incurring huge debt service. And bonding covenants have restricted the operating budgets of transit authorities by giving first claim on revenues to lenders. This put maintenance of transit systems outside the realm of local politics. For example, during the 1974-75 fiscal crisis in New York, the Emergency Financial Control Board instituted a policy of "deferred maintenance" as a cost-cutting measure to help avoid default. Maintenance deferred was maintenance denied and since then the system has crumbled. "The city learned a bitter lesson during the fiscal crisis," Ronay Menschel, executive administrator at the mayor's office told me, "...cutting maintenance cost millions."

As maintenance declined, physical decay accelerated. The balance between operating and capital spending became an annual budgetary battle where both sides lost. As track beds weakened, great strain was placed on subway cars, whose bodies and parts broke with increasing regularity. A study completed by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) in New York found that 80



Deferring maintenance of subway tracks has hastened the collapse of most major city systems.

percent of the subway cars were defective, between 1979-80 the average number of miles between breakdowns declined by 32 percent, and the number of cars abandoned during service increased by 90 percent.

Annual budget cuts between \$100-150 million in New York have meant route eliminations, declines in reconditioning and maintenance, labor cuts, and declines in equipment inventories. Parts shortages have become so bad in New York that rail workers now attach a tin holder beneath train trestles to capture falling bolts for reuse. Seventeen percent of the bus and subway fleet is out of service, breakdowns increased by 21 percent and overall service has been reduced by 18 percent in New York over the past year. Subways and buses run late on about 75-85 percent of the time.

This accelerating degeneration of the transit system was predicted in 1978 by the Department of City Planning: "For each \$100 of investment in the rail system we are spending approximately 65 percent for capital upkeep. The system is depreciating nearly three times faster than it is being restored." Now, as Michael Gerrard, chairman of the MTA's Permanent Citizens' Advisory Committee notes, passenger comfort standards in New York City are below those set for hogs by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Last fall, the New York Public Interest Research Group reported that 33 percent of subway cars had one or more doors that would not open, 15 percent had lights out, 70 percent had missing or unreadable maps and 20 percent were seriously overcrowded at rush hour.

In Boston, the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA) ran

out of money and shut down briefly last December. The state legislature's bailout, like that in New York, promises to be a cure that will advance the illness—it put a 4 percent cap on MBTA budget increases (while inflation in the transit industry is about 14 percent), increased control by Governor King, and ordered massive service and maintenance cuts. More than 750 transit employees have been laid off with more layoffs scheduled, there has been a 8 to 10 percent decline in service, and more route cancellations are planned. Yet despite all these cost-cutting measures, the transit system will face another shut down when it runs out of money next fall.

Everybody pays, but...

Common sense and reams of transportation consulting studies indicate that service declines and fare increases produce ridership losses. As ridership declines, greater deficits lead to further declines in service and revenues, advancing the pattern of transit collapse. Transit officials are reduced to managing "the balance of misery between shoddy transit service and increased traffic congestion," as New York assistant deputy commissioner of mass transit Joseph Lieper aptly

"The poor aren't working," Gov. King said, "so they aren't riding the MBTA."



Boston's trolleys run on a \$116 million annual deficit.

phrased it.

A February report by the New York City Department of Transportation demonstrated that deteriorating service produced a 2 percent decline in ridership and a 3 percent increase in motor vehicle traffic that lowered travel speed in Manhattan to its lowest in history. Traffic accidents increased by 8 percent.

Though decline in service is universal, the burden of service cuts and fare increases falls harder on low and middle income workers. Using transit authority service performance reports, Massachusetts Fair Share found that bus service was cut 11.7 percent in predominantly black and Hispanic neighborhoods versus 2.7 percent in non-minority areas and that three times as many runs were missed in minority areas as in non-minority areas. In January, the Coalition to Roll Back the MBTA Fare Increase formed in Boston to fight past and future fare hikes. Community groups, civil rights organizations and the League of Women Voters charged that fare increases negatively affected low-income groups, a large proportion of whom were minorities. But Governor King was unmoved. "The poor aren't working," he told the Boston *Patriot Ledger*, "so they probably aren't riding the MBTA."

The pressure for massive fare hikes will undoubtedly increase over the next months and years. Consider likely coming events in New York City: a federal cut in operating subsidies of \$115 million will mean an automatic 15-cent increase in fare; the refusal of Shell Oil and Mobil Corporation to pay their oil gross receipts tax means another loss of \$112 million; budget gaps through 1984 will increase to about \$310 million (not including a new labor contract and increased interest payments on new debt) jacking up the fare even higher. Fares of \$1.00 to \$1.25 can be safely predicted in New York and other major cities.

A recently released Federal Reserve Study estimated business lost as a direct result of transit decline at \$165 million, and further estimated that future projected service cuts would raise that figure to \$330 million. Moreover, as ridership declines the study estimated an extra \$650 million would be spent on gasoline for private automobiles in New York. Meanwhile, Standard and Poors cited mass transit decline as a reason for negative credit ratings in New York and Philadelphia.

Riders may increasingly realize that fare increases are a very regressive tax, and that they personally subsidize their employers by paying more of their in-

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IN SHORT

Sue the bastards

Even though insurgent Ed Sadlowski's 1977 campaign for the presidency of the Steelworkers union proved unsuccessful, the union leadership decided to give itself an extra measure of protection. In the wake of Sadlowski's defeat, the union added a novel provision to the union constitution prohibiting any candidate for union office from accepting campaign contributions from outside the Steelworkers' current membership. Obviously, such a rule would favor the incumbent leadership—which has ready access to union funds and resources—over any uppity challengers.

That point was not lost on the U.S. Court of Appeals, which recently ruled against the union in the *Edward Sadlowski v. United Steelworkers of America* lawsuit, which challenged the legality of the provision. Noting that the rule represented "the first attempt by an American labor union to so restrict financial support for candidates for union office," the court said that the ban "would leave union members practically at the mercy of every entrenched group of incumbents." Specifically, the court ruled, it violates sections of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959, a labor law that evolved out of hearings on corruption in the Teamsters and other unions.

Labor lawyer Joe Rauh, an attorney for the plaintiffs, offered this assessment of the Appeals Court ruling: "The bastards got beat. This case should be a real shot in the arm for the union democracy movement."

Bracket creep meets Bonzo

In recent years, income-tax critics have been especially vocal on the subject of "bracket creep"—that is, the tendency for people to be pushed into higher tax brackets as inflation (artificially) boosts their incomes. Now tax expert Allen D. Manvel, writing in *Tax Notes*, says that taxes in recent years have been modified so that the IRS' take of our incomes hasn't really gone up disproportionately because of inflation.

But the most troubling finding in Manvel's research was that the proposed Reagan tax cuts of 30 percent over three years would "operate to the material disadvantage of low-income taxpayers." For example, the proposed cuts would continue to protect middle and upper-income taxpayers against the ravages of bracket creep as their incomes are inflated. Not so for a couple with an annual income of \$6,000; their tax cut would compensate for only about 39 percent of the creep's extra burden—leaving them with scant funds to invest in condos.

Skip the flowers

Mother's Day did not begin as a Hallmark® of commercial holidays. Writing for the Pacific News Service, Michael E. Hamel-Green reminds us that the first Mother's Day celebration in the U.S., which took place in 1872, "was actually conceived and organized by the poet and women's suffragist Julia Ward Howe as an occasion for women to voice their opposition to military conflict."

Following Howe's lead more than a century later, the Mother's Day Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament will march on the White House this Mother's Day, May 10, and spend the next day presenting a petition for joint U.S.-Soviet disarmament to members of the House and Senate. Speakers at the May 10 rally will include Dr. Helen Caldicott (whose Women's Party for Survival spearheads the coalition), Benjamin Spock and Barry Commoner. Call (617) 923-9542 for details.

What a swell idea

Associate publisher Bob Nicklas reports that an *In These Times* Seattle Associates Group fundraiser on April 11 raised \$500. Revelers were especially generous with their liquid assets at the cash bar. Just a few days later, a Madison, Wisc., Democratic Socialist Alliance fundraiser brought in an additional \$300 for the paper. Our thanks to both groups.

Bob points out that one such fundraiser per week could bring in more than \$15,000 annually. He's standing by at (312) 489-4444 to help organize more of these events.

They talk, too

The San Francisco Mime Troupe has launched a spring tour of the Midwest and Northwest, presumably with their usual mixture of politics, drama, music and humor. This latest production is called *Americans, or Last Tango in Huahuatenoango*.

—Josh Kornbluth



Like other members of the Plowshares Eight (IN THESE TIMES, March 18), Daniel Berrigan isn't just waiting around to be sentenced. Following this appearance at an April 18 rally across from the UN protesting U.S. intervention in El Salvador, Berrigan and two other Plowsharers were arrested on Good Friday for causing trouble at the military-minded Riverside Research Institute in New York City.

Southern left will rise again

NEW MARKET, TENN.—Drawing on grassroots organizing experience in rural and urban communities across the South, more than 75 social activists from 11 southern states met here at the Highlander Center in early April to discuss ways of "building a socialist presence in the South."

H.L. Mitchell, a longtime socialist and one of the original organizers of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU), said it was "the second southern socialists conference in over 40 years." Mitchell recalled that the first conference he attended was in April 1939 at the Delta Cooperative Farm in Rochdale, Miss.

This year's meeting, organized by members of the New American Movement (NAM) and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), drew twice the number of expected participants, about half of whom were people that did not belong to either organization but felt the need to consider socialist alternatives in the Reagan era. Equally unexpected was the broad spectrum of more than 30 organizations represented, from local and state groups working on single issues to southern members of national organizations (for example, the National Organization of Women, ACORN and the American Civil Liberties Union) to organized labor.

For some who came, the threatened loss of federal funding on which many activist strategies have depended seems to have forced a new look at liberalism and a new openness to socialist alternatives. For others, the community outcry

against Reagan's budget cuts is providing an opportunity to take socialist analyses out of the closet and present them as viable alternatives.

Mitchell caught the spirit of the meeting when he began by calling himself "an ecumenical socialist—I belong to everything." Parallels with the past were striking as Mitchell provided a summary of minutes of the 1939 southern conference and recalled its original purpose of "mobilizing the South" and "building a political organization that would ultimately lead to a socialist economic order." Stated one 50-year veteran of southern labor struggles, "Union busting may be more intense now than it was 15 years ago, but it's not any more so than it was in the '30s."

No master plan was developed at the meeting, but those present agreed to begin building a regional network, planning a larger conference next year and working on a coherent political strategy for the South. Such a strategy would involve resurrecting the strong traditions of militant trade unionism and black-white unity, and building on what's positive in southern culture—particularly the social gospel, the extended family and southerners' closeness to their rural roots.

The common perspective of southern socialists at the meeting was that the majority of southerners are not more conservative or apathetic than their northern counterparts, as is often portrayed. But the right does have more control over economy and culture in this region than it has elsewhere.

As NOW's Wanda Noblitt said, "Being rural, being southern, it's hard for people to grasp the power they have. They've been taught to conform and they have no strong examples of dissent because that history is never celebrated. We have to be that example."

—Laura Batt

SHAD protests nuke too much

NEW YORK—In an unprecedented action, a Long Island utility is seeking a whopping \$2 million in damages from members of an anti-nuclear group who tried to block construction of a \$2.2 billion nuke plant 50 miles east of Manhattan.

The legal action by LILCO (Long Island Lighting Co.) is aimed at the SHAD (Sound and Hudson Against Atomic Development) Alliance, a loose-knit coalition of protesters—mostly residents of the area—opposed to the Shoreham nuclear plant now slated for completion by late 1983. SHAD has been organizing regular demonstrations at the construction site for years.

LILCO claims SHAD members are violating its private property rights—which it views as more important than the demonstrators' First Amendment guarantees of free expression—and is seeking a court injunction against all future protests on or near the construction site. Moreover, the utility wants cash damages so it can pay for increased security measures, construction delays and an undetermined amount of property damage as a result of the protests.

Civil libertarians and anti-nukers view the suit as part of a large corporate counter-offensive indicative of business confidence in the Age of Reagan. They fear an award of damages in this case will forestall future demonstrations by small, community-based anti-nuke groups nationwide. SHAD, for example, has no salaried staff or formal organization and just barely manages to pay its own utility bills.

"This is the first time that a utility has tried to deny Americans their right to protest," said Edith Tiger of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which is handling SHAD's defense. "A win here would clear the way for the same intimidating tactics by the phone company, Con Edison, defense contractors, anybody."

LILCO has been joined in its suit by nine construction unions that believe the protesters have jeopardized the livelihood of the 2,600 members employed on the project.

Both sides in the case have been taking depositions for several months now. LILCO has been extremely broad in its questioning of defendants. Utility attorneys have asked SHAD members to provide names of people who attend meetings, and to reveal where the meetings have been held, who took minutes and who's on the mailing list. A printer's records have been subpoenaed and organizational bank records sought.

Attorneys for SHAD say it is possible the case will go to trial this spring or summer in New York state supreme court. A negative verdict, they add, will be appealed all the way to the Supreme Court, if necessary.

The suit has hampered SHAD's ability to organize further protest activities against the nuclear plant, since organizers have been preoccupied with defense efforts and fundraising to cover legal expenses. LILCO also has serious fiscal problems: It recently asked the state's Public Service Commission for a \$228 million rate hike, of which \$34 million would go toward completion of the Shoreham project.

—Eric Nadler

ELECTIONS

Santa Monica tenants get revenge in sweep of city seats

By Neal Goldberg

SANTA MONICA, CA

SANTA MONICA'S REAL ESTATE developers probably wish they could get into a time machine and go back to the 1950s. With the April 15 victory of a city council slate pledged to rent control and to "human scale" development, the real estate interests have become an unpopular minority in a town they once ruled.

Santa Monica used to be a sleepy ocean-side retreat for the well-to-do. But in the middle '60s, at the urging of developers, an expressway was built linking Santa Monica to downtown Los Angeles.

Santa Monica's business elite, eager to cash in on their properties, tore down hundreds of vacation houses and built apartment buildings in their place. Workers from downtown Los Angeles eager to escape the smog and middle-class professionals attracted by Santa Monica's sense of community began flocking to the city. Once one of Los Angeles County's wealthiest communities, its income is now below the county average.

A broad alliance blocked landlords' efforts to gut the nation's strongest rent control law.

About 75 percent of Santa Monica's citizens are renters. During the late '70s, these citizens found themselves squeezed by skyrocketing rents. In the wake of Proposition 13, which reduced landlords' property taxes, many tenants expected rent reductions, but instead they saw their rents increased.

Santa Monica since has become the center of California's renters' rebellion. In 1979 it voted in a strict rent control ordinance and elected a slate of pro-rent control candidates, led by consumer activist Ruth Yannatta Goldway. But the city developers and real estate interests did not take their defeat lying down. Over the last two years, they have organized with the aim of taking back the Santa Monica City Council and revoking the rent control ordinance.

On April 15, they had their latest test. A slate of candidates organized by the developers' Citizens Congress faced a slate organized by the Santa Monicans for Renters Rights (SMRR). The pro-rent control slate swept all four city council seats, as well as winning two school board seats and a vacancy on the city's rent control board. Last week, the victorious majority appointed Ruth Goldway as Santa Monica's mayor.

Santa Monicans for Renters Rights, which ran both the 1979 and 1981 campaigns, is composed of four main groups: the Santa Monica chapter of the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), the Santa Monica Democratic Club, the Fair Housing Alliance, and the Ocean Park Electoral Network. For this year's campaign, about 3,000 active supporters donated \$5 or more.

The Coalition won significant labor support. The County AFL-CIO, which had refused to endorse the 1979 slate, backed the SMRR in 1981. Other unions, including the Retail Clerks, Culinary Workers, Teamsters and United Auto Workers, lent their active support. Dolores Press of the Retail Clerks was one of the four victorious city council candidates.

"While the Progressive Alliance is dis-



banding on a national scale, we have put together on a local level a genuine progressive alliance," SMRR campaign manager Derek Shearer commented.

By means of the union phone banks, the coalition was able to contact 30,000 voters out of a potential electorate of 54,000. From this initial canvass 20,000 supporters were identified, and then targeted for an election-day get-out-the-vote drive.

The Citizens' Congress, set up two years ago to fight the rent control forces, was largely composed of conservative Republicans. They outspent the rent control coalition about three-to-one. When an early survey showed that 65 percent of Santa Monicans supported rent control, they changed from being openly antagonistic toward rent control to maintaining that they would enforce the rent control laws more "reasonably."

"They tried to usurp the rent control issue," Dolores Press said. "The priority for our candidates became clearing up the voters' confusion about the issues."

Court hassles.

The rent control issue was further clouded by a lower court statement one month before the election that sections of the Santa Monica law might be unconstitutional.

The Santa Monica law rolled back rents to April 1978 and limited increases to an annual 7 percent or a percentage of the "historical" rather than current market value of the landlord's property. Calculating rents on the owner's original investment, rather than the property's inflated market price, was intended to discourage real estate speculation.

But Los Angeles County Judge Richard Lavine offered a "tentative opinion"

that the use of historical investment and the 7 percent yearly increase was "confiscatory." He gave the city 90 days to respond.

SMRR candidates campaigned against the judge's ruling. They promised to fight it through the State Supreme Court. Campaign manager Shearer estimated

that the ruling could increase some Santa Monica rents as high as 150 percent.

But while rent control was the main issue of the Santa Monica campaign, it was not the only issue. The SMRR and the Citizens' Congress also did battle over high-rise and commercial development. Santa Monica has had no problem attracting investment. But according to the SMRR, the growth of high-rises has been outstripping the city's sewer system and threatening its "human scale" environment.

The candidates also quarrelled over crime. The Citizens' Congress sponsored an initiative that would have mandated the city to spend more on crime, while suggesting that police spending decisions be removed from city council control. The rent control coalition countered with an initiative that set up "community-based crime control," which emphasized better street lighting and requiring landlords to provide better locks. The rent control coalition initiative passed easily, while the Citizens' Congress initiative was defeated.

On election day, the Citizens' Congress showed their desperation. They reportedly hired students for \$50 to tear the rent control coalition's campaign literature from citizens' doors.

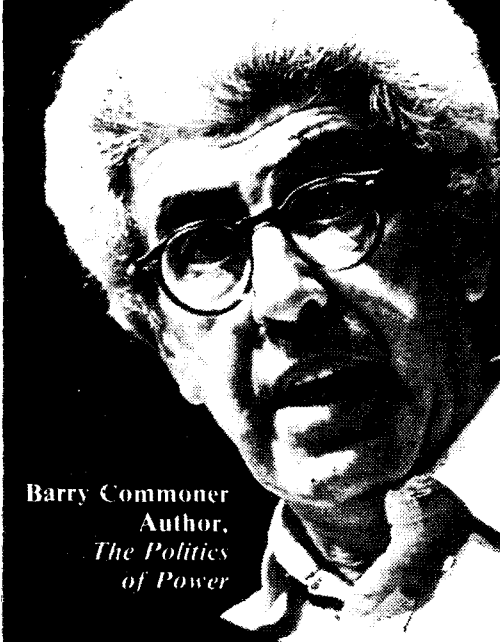
When the election results came in, showing a rent control coalition sweep, the Citizens' Congress made one last effort to stop them. They sued to overturn the results on the grounds that the election ballots, which required voters to punch holes for their candidates, were slightly off-center. But a judge threw that complaint out of court.

When the new city council convened last Tuesday they passed a six-month moratorium on high-rise development and condominium conversion.

The new council members are optimistic about what they will be able to accomplish. "We can show the nation what local government can do when government is no longer at the service of business interests," CED organizer Tom Zane, one of the successful candidates, said. "We can make Santa Monica a model of economic democracy for the nation."

Zane's comments reflect a certain giddy post-election enthusiasm. Santa Monica is both too small and too well-endowed, geographically and economically, to serve as a model for many American cities.

But the factors that make Santa Monica different—"Our problem is not attracting investment, but controlling it," Shearer said—also make it immune to the usual corporate blackmail that has undermined other attempts at local democracy. Even if the victorious coalition cannot make Santa Monica a model for the nation, it will certainly have a chance to make it a model for its citizens. ■



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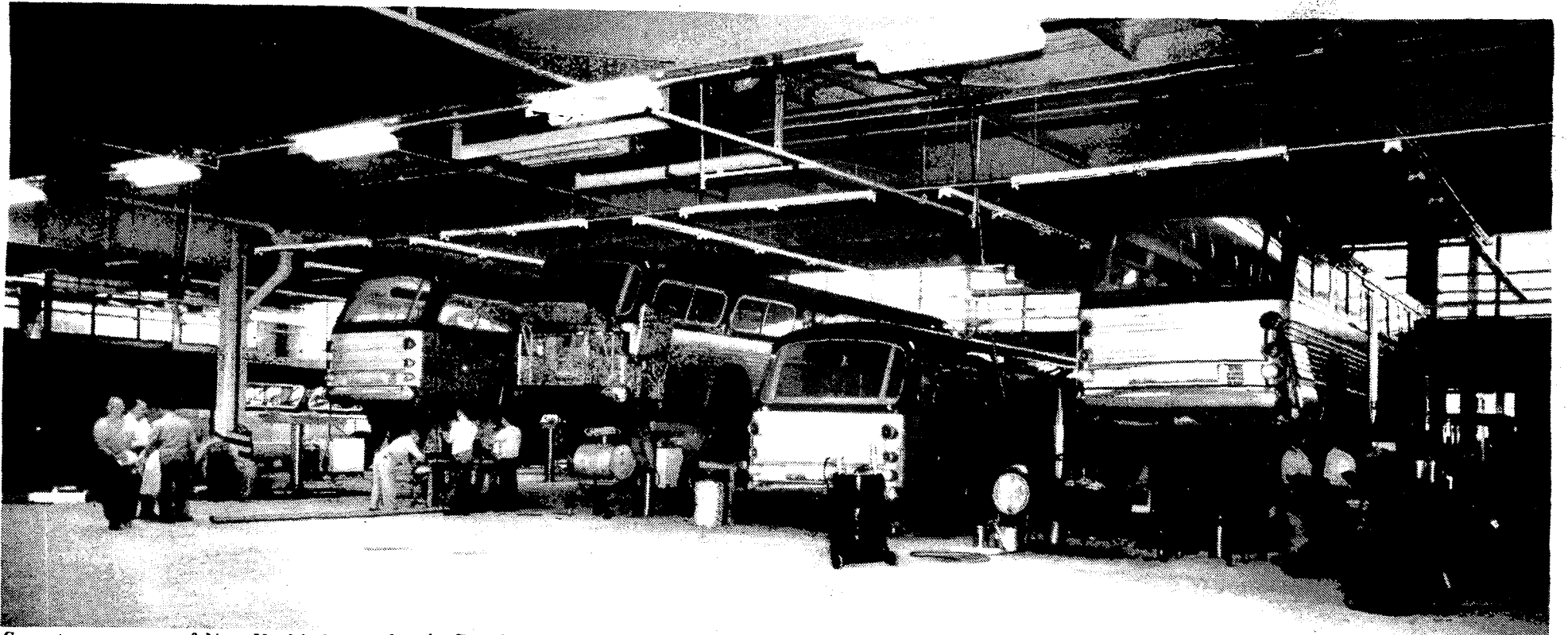
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Seventeen percent of New York's bus and train fleet is now out of service.

Transit

Continued from page 3

come and unpaid time in fares, taxes and personal misery trying to get to work. This can only act as a pressure for increased wage demands.

If transit collapse is in no one's best interest, why is a solution stalemated? If business and civic leaders, community and union activists share a growing sense of urgency about the issue, what blocks resolution?

The political crisis of mass transit is rooted in decades of transportation planning decisions invisible and inaccessible to public control or accountability. Popular demands for full-service, publicly-owned transit as it exists in the rest of the modern world, were derailed when the rise of urban "reform" around the time of World War I transferred power over privately-owned mass transit from cities to

the states and the federal government. Electoral control by urban dwellers was supplanted by business-directed regulatory commissions and regional authorities. As banks and corporations pulled out of mass transportation, transit operations throughout the country went bankrupt and control over lines was relinquished to courts and regulatory commissions that were often dominated by bank creditors of the collapsed companies. The end of public participation in privately-owned mass transportation paralleled the strategy of automobile, oil and rubber corporations to dismantle electrical railways and pave cities for motorized travel. (See *In These Times*, April 19, 1979.)

After World War II, the banks sold the bankrupt and obsolete transit systems to municipalities at prices far greater than the systems' real value (watered stock and overcapitalization had been typical of earlier transit business practices). Private bankruptcies were thus converted into public debt.

As bond issues were restricted to capi-

tal projects, new construction (often never completed) and equipment purchases (often of faulty subway cars and buses) expanded. Transit capital budgets, like highway building, became a pork barrel for contractors and a source of patronage and contribution leveraging for governors and mayors. As capital improvements failed to materialize and regular service and maintenance declined, transit mismanagement and fare increases along with central-city decline contributed to falling ridership and serious financial problems. Meanwhile, the banks, which bought and marketed transit bonds, demanded restrictive covenants allowing them veto power over transit budgetary decisions.

With rare exception, transit authority managers have allowed bond holders to milk transit operations and drive service lower because they knew more about business hustling and political deal-making than transportation. Recent chairs of transit authorities in our major cities have included a department store owner, a bank director, an incinerator supervisor and a landlord; there are precious few transit professionals to run these operations. The predominance of political hacks has allowed mayors and governors to engage in pre-election schemes that promised millions for transit through federal funds that never materialize. The Accelerated Transit Package in New York and emergency funding programs in Illinois and Massachusetts were largely based on millions promised from the Carter administration's windfall profits tax on oil, most of which have not been received by the cities.

The sabotage of central-city transit has been exacerbated by the simultaneous expansion of highway building. Transit planning and highway planning, by no accident, have always worked at cross-purposes. Every city has its example of a freeway that need not be built. New York's Westway controversy is classic, but Boston has its Central Lottery and Chicago its Crosstown—all examples of useless and obsolete interstate connections. The political flip-flops over Westway have been exemplary—Mayor Koch and Governor Carey were both elected opposing it. Carey is now pushing its construction and Koch has agreed if the state provides more transit monies. Both are anxious to receive the federal highway money and play down the option of trading the highway in for transit money. Since the transit system is conservatively estimated to need more than \$10 billion in capital funding over the next decade, receiving part of the \$2.3 billion of Westway funds from the federal government seems eminently reasonable.

Westway is popular among politicians and big-business types because it is a public investment that creates private profit. The main support for Westway comes from the real estate developers and businesses that are likely to benefit from 234 acres of West Side landfill.

At \$540 million per mile, Westway promises to be the most expensive and least cost-effective highway in history. Nevertheless, all obstacles are being hastily removed from its path. In January 1980,

the regional office of the Environmental Protection Agency found that the Westway plan failed to address the issue of auto-generated pollution; 60,800 new auto trips would be added to Manhattan's clogged streets per day. At Governor Carey's behest, the Carter administration announced at the height of the presidential campaign a new budget formula that removed the EPA from any jurisdiction over planning review. And proposals for less expensive west-side highway renovation and use of highway money for transit have been struck down.

New York City Council president Carol Bellamy disclosed that indirect costs of Westway, maintenance, safety, repair and lost transit revenues, would further the fiscal crisis. The Sierra Club reported that 78,000 person-years of employment, largely from outside New York City, would result from building Westway, while 103,000 would accrue from a trade-in for transit rehabilitation.

Regardless, big-city mayors and governors in New York and elsewhere still sup at the highway trough and convince voters of their evenhandedness by driving transit deeper into state legislature approved bonded debt. In short, rip-off deficit financing, self-defeating fare increases, mismanagement, budgetary shell games, and continued highway dependency are pushing transit systems even closer to the edge.

Glen Yago teaches at the State University of New York at Stonybrook.

OCAW

Continued from page 2

on his picking up disaffected former Goss supporters in several areas—oil refinery workers in the Gulf Coast region, blacks disappointed with the number of black staff appointments in the past two years, and workers throughout the union who were upset with a proposed merger with the United Paperworkers.

Critics of that merger, including Mazzochi, claim that it would not really have strengthened OCAW, since there were few overlapping jurisdictions, and that the terms of the merger would have reinforced bureaucratic control and undermined many democratic provisions in the OCAW constitution. Mazzochi says that he favors mergers in principle but with unions such as the International Chemical Workers or Rubber Workers. The special merger convention was dropped as opposition grew, but the proposal has only been postponed, not canceled.

Goss is expected to make a strong showing again on the West Coast, with Mazzochi having the edge in the East, their respective home bases. The toughest battle will be fought in the Midwest and the Gulf regions.

"Goss belongs to the past," Mazzochi says, in what will undoubtedly be the theme of the campaign as he argues that his strategy for a more political, aggressive unionism is essential for the labor movement to survive the coming decade.

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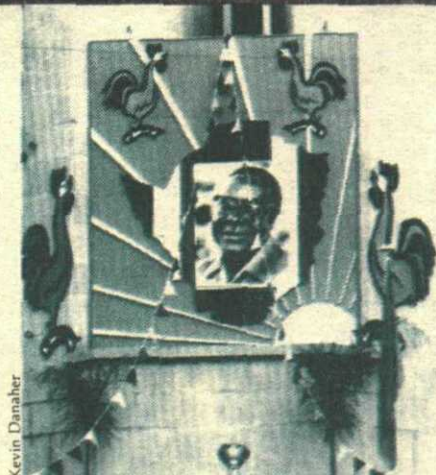
Kevin Danaher



By James North

HARARE (SALISBURY), ZIMBABWE

THE ZIMBABWEAN PARLIAMENT embraces what is arguably the widest divergence of opinion of any legislative body in the world today. Both the Assembly and the Senate are overwhelmingly dominated by black members of the ruling coalition between Robert Mugabe's ZANU, the senior partner, and Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU. All are radicals or socialists who returned one year ago from exile, prison or fighting in the bush war. But the 1979 Lancaster House agreement, signed at the British-sponsored conference that planned the transition to majority rule, also reserved blocks of seats for whites—10 in the 40-member Senate, 20 in the 100-seat Assembly. All the white seats were won by Ian Smith's Rhodesia Front.



Kevin Danaher

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The RF, which voted the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965 and ruled the country illegally for the next 15 years, has modified its views somewhat in the first year of independence, but its outlook is still basically conservative and colonialist. The unprepossessing parliament building here resounds with verbal clashes between the revolutionary MPs and their erstwhile political masters, and it all takes place with the Westminster-style pageantry of bewigged officials, costumed sergeants-at-arms with ceremonial swords and frequent use of the word "honorable."

Recently, the Senate considered a proposed Education Amendment Bill, with which the government intended to abolish the last vestiges of *de jure* school segregation. The short-lived 1979 government of Bishop Abel Muzorewa, figure-headed by blacks but dominated by whites, had "sold" some previously all-white schools to parents for a pittance. These "community schools" had admitted a few token blacks but remained predominantly white. The Mugabe government had no intention of implementing bussing or other vigorous measures to promote integration; it simply wanted the schools back under the control of the Education Ministry. Nonetheless, the

Continued on the following page

Continued from the previous page

RF senators fought the measure bitterly. Senator Colonel George Hartley, a bulky, florid man, opened with a broadside. He called the bill "a concoction of blatant racialism coupled with the desire to strike a blow at the white community...a gigantic fraud." The government had argued that the schools were established illegally. Hartley asked rhetorically how the 1979 bill had ever passed.

"I was not here," shot back Dzingai Mutumbuka, the young minister of education (who in 1979 had been organizing schools for Zimbabwean refugees in Mozambique).

"How did the Unilateral Declaration of Independence pass?" asked another black senator.

Hartley, undeterred, said the bill's supporters were "punctuating their contributions with emotional outbursts of self-pity," and then went on to criticize the minister and his fiery deputy Joseph Culverwell, for their "snide interjections and flamboyant antics of yesterday and again this morning..."

"You are really sick, aren't you," Mutumbuka interrupted.

Later, M.H. Partridge, a rather less objectionable RF senator, accused the minister of "rushing in like a rhinoceros into a china shop," but added, "I would like to end up on a pleasanter note to the honorable senators opposite—they have not behaved too badly."

"Charming, old chap, charming," Culverwell snickered.

As expected, the Education Bill passed.

Reasons to be cheerful.

This interchange is both revealing and deceptive as an indication of the state of affairs as the Republic of Zimbabwe celebrated its first anniversary of independence on April 18.

The Senate debate shows first of all that the whites are still here—the panicked exodus that took place from other settler states such as nearby Angola and Mozambique has not occurred. The new government's principal aim was to avoid the chaos, sabotage and shortage of skilled workers that would have resulted from white flight. It has succeeded: the white population is estimated at 218,000, only slightly lower than at independence. The Colonel Hartleys and Senator Partridges are still very much on the scene.

But the Senate interchange exaggerates the degree to which racial conflict persists in the country. "Reconciliation" is perhaps the most widely used word in Zimbabwe today, and the policy has achieved dramatic success. Some white grumbling persists about certain changes, particularly the desegregation of health and education, and the RF senators were playing to their constituencies on the community schools question. In the back rooms, though, the occasionally harsh exchanges are forgotten and a good-natured cordiality prevails. James Thrush, an RF MP, said recently, "We always greet each other warmly. The whole experience fills one with optimism. In fact, there is a bust of Ian Smith in the caucus room. I expected to find a knife stuck in it or something. It is still there, unharmed."

Outside Parliament, the mood of reconciliation has also spread. A group of amiable "punks" lounge about at the sidewalk restaurant once occupied by tense white soldiers in uniform. There is no inter-racial jostling on the street, no bitter stares or harsh words. A visitor recently witnessed a particularly striking bit of racial cooperation: two 11-year-old boys, one black, the other white, were intently collaborating in an effort to rifle a parking meter on Second Street.

Whites in particular have every reason to be pleased with the present situation. After years of sanctions and a period of negative growth, the economy is once again booming—in real terms, the growth rate was 8 percent last year. Taxes have been increased, and wages for the lowest-paid black workers raised, but the measures have not seriously affected white wealth. There has been no nationalization of white-owned companies, and no confiscation of the sprawling white farms, which will pro-

duce a record crop this year.

The ruling coalition has shown an incredible degree of forgiveness toward its former enemies. There have been no reprisals whatsoever against leading white politicians and military commanders, most of whom remain in the country. Thrush, who once advocated shooting Mugabe, pointed out, "They could have chopped our heads off on Day Two." ZANU and ZAPU MPs sit in Parliament across from Ian Smith and others responsible for the declaration of independence and the war that followed, with its 25,000 deaths, including hundreds of secret executions of captured guerrillas. The 24 black ministers, who served a total of more than 100 years in prison and another 180 years in forced exile, now chat politely with their former jailers.

There is no doubt the government promotes reconciliation partly for genuine moral reasons. But the policy has a practical aspect as well. Freed from having to cope with the chaos of a white exodus, the new government has been able to get on with its major initial tasks: consolidating its political control; restoring order and creating a unified national army, making headway in reconstructing war damage, and appealing to the international community for a massive injection of aid. It has had to race against time, acutely conscious that an increasingly belligerent South Africa, encouraged by the tilt of the Reagan administration, could start to launch raids and other destabilizing efforts at any time. And it has moved skillfully, using the time bought by reconciliation with its internal adversaries to achieve a number of successes.

The formation of the Zimbabwe National Army out of the two separate guerrilla forces and some of the Smith regime's troops has been an urgent priority. Despite some serious setbacks, this process is once again on course. The Mugabe government first disbanded the worst of the old colonialist units, including the notorious Selous Scouts, which had been responsible for many atrocities during the war and which posed a serious threat. Then the Joint High Command, with the help of British instructors, started merging the three forces into a single, nonideological army.

The process has broken down several times, most seriously in early February at Bulawayo, Zimbabwe's second city. Elements of ZIPRA, the military wing of Nkomo's ZAPU, revolted and were quelled only after several days of fighting and at least 300 dead. The uprising was indeed grave, but it only affected three or four of the 22 new mixed battalions (numbering 23,000 men) and it has not been followed so far by other major incidents. The unification process, which will eventually produce a 60,000-strong force, is once again underway.

The tension in the military between ZIPRA and ZANLA, the former Mugabe guerrillas, is linked closely to strain on the political level. ZANU won enough seats in the elections to control Parliament alone, but it invited its former partner in the Patriotic Front alliance into the government—over the objections of some of the ZANU central committee. The hardliners, in the words of one of their spokespeople, Minister of Finance Enos Nkala, want to "crush" Nkomo's party politically and spread ZANU's power into the remaining ZAPU strongholds. Other ZANU leaders favor a more conciliatory approach, leading to an eventual merger (in which ZANU's demonstrably greater support would give it the dominant role).

The differences between the two organizations are usually explained in the West solely on the basis of ethnicity ("tribalism"). ZANU is undeniably strongest among the Shona-speaking 80 percent of the population, while ZAPU's major support comes from the Ndebele minority in the western section of the country. But the truth is more complex: Nkomo, for instance, who once headed a unified national movement, has been mistrusted for years on political and ideological grounds. Nkala, his leading critic within ZANU, is himself an Ndebele, while Nkomo's vice president and many others on his party executive are Shona.

Nonetheless, there has been a definite,

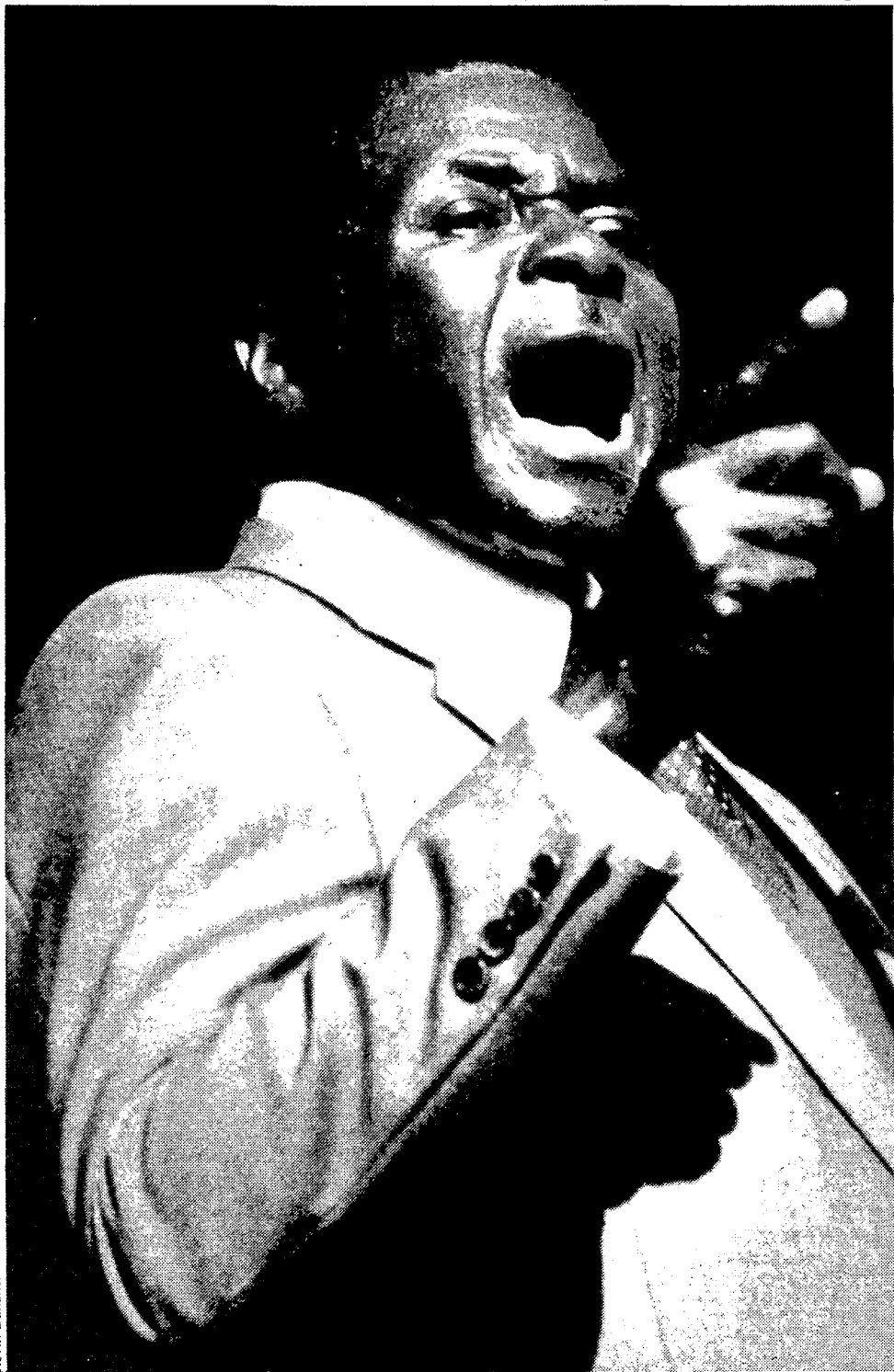
discernable rise in ethnic tensions in the past year. One hears comments ("The Shonas want to control everything," "The Ndebeles are violent by nature") that are new and alarming. Many Shonas (and others) dislike Nkomo intensely—with reason, given his lengthy record of temporizing—and insist he secretly instigated the February uprising. (The evidence is unclear, but he probably did not.) Persisting ethnic tension is easily the government's most critical problem, and more trouble could lie ahead.

The intransigence of certain sections of the ZANU leadership toward Nkomo contrasts with the party's flexible policies in other areas. It has readily shelved the most radical aspects of its program for a "transition period" of two to three years. Not only has there been no nationalization, but the government has not restricted foreign investors other than to "encourage" them to take local partners (black or white) and to reinvest some of their profits in the country. None of the 5,000 white farmers, who own one-half of the country, has been expropriated to make way for the 3.6 million black peasants who scratch out an existence on the other, generally poorer half. A modest resettlement program is underway, but the government has paid hard cash to willing sellers. None of the many white holdovers in the civil service has been forcefully retired, even though some are delib-

weans, particularly in the towns, are visibly better off than before. Urban men have a peculiar penchant for suits, and Salisbury these days is proud of its new sartorial elegance.

Significant change has also taken place in the media. The government inherited control of radio and television from the colonial regime and purchased a dominant interest in the major newspaper chain from a South African company. But it has been exceedingly careful not to follow the example of the Smith regime, which used the media shamelessly. Independent boards, with both black and white members, supervise the papers and the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Company. Quality has improved, and the balance is remarkable: an article elaborating Smith's criticisms of the government recently appeared on page one of the Salisbury Herald.

The government's moderate approach helped it win significant support from the Zimbabwe Conference on Reconstruction and Development (ZimCord), held here in late March and attended by 45 countries and 12 international agencies. Bernard Chidzero, the Minister of Economic Planning, asked for about \$2 billion to fund the government's many projects. The pledges surpassed the requested amount, including \$75 million for next year from the American delegation (which promised to ask Congress



erately attempting to sabotage government policy.

The government has carried out a number of minimal but far-reaching reform measures that have increased its already overwhelming popularity. It abolished fees for primary education, and the number of children in school quickly skyrocketed from 800,000 to 1.3 million; it is expected to reach two million next year. Visits to health clinics are now also free. Sales taxes on some necessities have been reduced or eliminated. Much of the rural infrastructure damaged or destroyed in the war has been rebuilt, often with the help of local people. The government has promulgated new minimum-wage scales in mining, industry, agricultural labor and domestic service. Employers have naturally tried to evade the new edicts and rising inflation has eaten up some of the gains, but black Zimbab-

for the same amount in the following two years as well). The U.S. pledge was a far cry from the \$1.5 billion figure tossed around back when Henry Kissinger was dabbling in southern African politics. Nonetheless, the money is welcome and it—along with pledges from other conservative powers—apparently means the West is satisfied with Zimbabwe thus far and willing to spend in an effort to keep the country on a moderate course.

That effort will probably be futile in the long run, at least as far as the interests of the multinationals and Western conservatives are concerned. "Growth with Equity"—the impressive economic policy statement recently prepared by the government—makes clear on page one that Zimbabwe is committed to "pursue and implement policies based on socialist, egalitarian and democratic principles in conditions of rapid economic

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The author spent several weeks in Poland in the fall of 1980 interviewing principal figures in SOLIDARITY (the new union) and in KOR (the organization of intellectuals). He was born in Poland, and was exiled along with his parents. He was educated in London, Geneva and Paris, and for eighteen years he was Paris correspondent for *The Economist*, (London) specializing in Eastern European affairs.

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growth." Chidzero provided the delegates at ZimCord with a striking statistic that illuminated the enormity of the problem: the income of urban blacks is 10 percent that of whites, while that of rural blacks (three-quarters of the population) is 1 percent.

The high price of land reform.

At the heart of the government's effort to modify those figures is a sweeping land reform and large-scale resettlement program. The Lancaster House agreement stipulates that any land acquired in the previously "white" half of the country must be paid for. One study has estimated that ultimately 75 percent of the white land will be needed, at a cost of some \$1 billion. In the first year of independence, the government has been short of funds and preoccupied with other matters. It has managed to resettle only about 15,000 families (out of an eventual

target of up to 400,000). Much of the money raised at ZimCord will be used to speed up the process.

One fear last year was that impatient black peasants would simply begin to occupy white land, particularly abandoned farms. Little or no such direct action has taken place. The rural poor are apparently satisfied by the significant changes thus far in education, health and other areas. But also, ZANU apparently earned their trust during the seven-year liberation war, when the poor fed, clothed, sheltered and protected the guerrillas. So far, they are willing to wait.

Moreover, the government has by no means forsaken the rural areas for the glitter of Salisbury. The political network built up in the countryside during the war is being extended and consolidated. Former *mujibas* (people of all ages who helped the guerrillas) now sit on local government authorities. Committees flourish in the villages. Senior officials make frequent visits to address

as a leading political commissar frequently took him into many of the hottest combat zones.

The men and women in the crowd were sitting separately, a long-standing rural tradition. Urimbo faced the women and grinned. "You must organize yourselves into women's groups," he said emphatically. "You should not have to ask your husbands for permission to leave home and attend meetings." The women cheered and applauded loudly.

Then he turned toward the men. "You think when the women go out they want to drink beer or to see other men." A few men squirmed. "That is not true." His voice rose. "You must stop. You are suppressing your wives!" The women roared with pleased approval, while the men glanced at each other, discomfited. Urimbo smiled warmly at them and sat down again.

Urimbo's blunt speech illustrates another challenge the revolution is facing, which will grow as the pace of resettlement quickens. ZANU is committed not only to clearing away the remnants of the settler regime, but also to changing certain features of "traditional" rural life such as individual peasant production and the inferior status of women. (Other elements of tradition, such as religion, will be left untouched.) Some progress was made during the war: refugees in Mozambique experimented with communal agriculture, while women also carried guns into battle. But much remains to be done.

A party in transition.

During the war, ZANU was a small, vanguard organization, whose political and military cadres guided its followers in a strategy modelled consciously after the Chinese revolution—penetrate the

Recent aid commitments show that the West is pleased with Mugabe's moderation so far, but ZANU is frank about its ultimate intentions.

rural rallies.

Recently, no less a personage than Simon Muzenda, the deputy prime minister, accompanied by another minister and two members of the 30-strong ZANU Central Committee, travelled to the Charter District, some 100 miles due south of Salisbury. Muzenda, a pleasant grandfatherly man, had made three other such trips in a single two-week period, while other party and government officials were simultaneously fanning out into other parts of the countryside.

Muzenda's speech to about 3,000 cheering people in the little hamlet of Manyeni was calm, straightforward and without a hint of demagoguery: he only briefly mentioned the progress of the first year. Instead, his main point was that people should continue to organize themselves, rather than expect that the government would do everything for them. "You must have your own meetings, deal with your own problems, instead of coming to knock on my door," he said. As he spoke, a number of the shabbily dressed men and women who constituted the Manyeni village committee laboriously scratched out notes of his talk on scraps of paper.

Muzenda then talked frankly about the difference between political and economic power. "We—that means you—are now the government," he said. "But many things in town are still owned by a small group of people. We have not yet started to work on this problem." He endorsed the reconciliation policy several times: "There is no such thing as a Shona, Ndebele, colored [African of mixed descent] or white. We are all Zimbabweans now."

After other speeches and a question period, one of the Central Committee members, Mayor Urimbo, closed the rally. Urimbo, a charismatic man in his 30s, is a legend among many of the former guerrillas: during the war, his duties

countryside and surround the cities. The ZANLA fighters were consciously *political* soldiers, who spent lengthy periods doing preparatory work in the rural areas before ever opening fire. (Nkomo's military wing, on the other hand, was organized along conventional lines, a fact widely offered to explain why ZAPU did not make a better political showing.)

ZANU abandoned efforts to organize the urban working class, reasoning that the Smith regime would obliterate any strike action. Its urban supporters worked in tightly-knit underground cells, as an adjunct to the rural war. The party went to the Lancaster House conference with extreme reluctance. Only decisive pressure from its allies, Tanzania and Mozambique, forced it to abandon its intention to fight a prolonged war to a military victory.

In the post-election period, conditions have changed completely and ZANU has adjusted in response. It has opened its ranks and become a mass party, with a membership in the hundreds of thousands. Any Zimbabwean, of any color, simply pays a nominal amount and is issued a membership card. The party still describes its mode of organization as "democratic centralism," but the influx of new members is apparently having a healthy democratizing effect. The party remains senior to the government and it must approve key state appointments.

ZANU has also promoted the integration of its military wing into the new "apolitical" National Army. "Depoliticization is the major element of military re-training," explained Joe Zokonyia, a ranking official in the Ministry of Youth. "No army is really apolitical. The British and U.S. armies are capitalist-oriented, ours will be socialist-oriented. But the National Army will be depoliticized in party terms. Its task will be to defend the state and the ideals in our constitution."

He added, "It is a measure of gov-

ernment confidence that there is no need seen for the ongoing politicization of the army."

The newly-enlarged ZANU has moved into the previously neglected working class, encouraging the recent formation of a unified national congress of trade unions. The party has also started to extend its strength geographically, into Matabeleland, Nkomo's stronghold.

Some of these changes will pose new problems. Among the flock of new party members are some who are quite clearly opportunists—businessmen and others who are bending with the prevailing winds. Others are simply people who, in Zokonyia's words, were "swept along by the tide of revolutionary zeal in the period before the election. They genuinely support our party, but they have not necessarily fully absorbed our ideology." Some people in this new influx are perfectly happy with the present moderate phase and they could well resist when ZANU turns once again in a radical direction.

The ZANU leadership is not misleading anyone about its ultimate intentions. Its ideology is there for anyone to see in its election manifesto and various policy statements. ZANU leaders tend to avoid the word "revolution," but middle and lower-level activists use it frequently and openly.

Nonetheless, some Zimbabweans, members of ZANU among them, are gulling themselves into believing that the moderate phase is permanent. One hears occasional muttering critical of the "comrades," the younger activists, many of them ex-guerrillas, who are heavily involved in political work. In another variant, that hostility has dominated Western analysis of the country's first year—the view, accepted as self-evident, that the ex-guerrillas are the biggest single danger to Zimbabwe. Quite the contrary: these brave young men and women were the major force responsible for bringing about the changes the West professes to find so promising, and they remain the best guarantee that the revolution stays on course.

One of ZANU's major assets is the enhanced stature of its leader, who has won near-universal admiration in Zimbabwe's first year. When Robert Mugabe returned in January 1980 to lead ZANU in the election, he was still a shadowy figure inside the country, since he had been in jail or exile for 16 years. Even to ZANU members, he was a first-among-equals rather than a strong political force in his own right. In the past year, his keen intellect, firm but conciliatory style and brilliant political maneuvering have earned him the respect of even his most embittered enemies.

Mugabe's ascendance has not been accompanied by any cult of personality, nor has he abandoned consensus leadership. His continuing modesty is typical of a government that has compiled a near-perfect record on human rights issues. It has retained the Smith regime's sweeping security legislation, but used it only once to hold people without trial. At present, there are no political prisoners at all, an astonishing achievement in a country so recently torn by widespread conflict.

Nathan Shamuyarira, the minister of information, seems perfectly sincere when he says he wants the press to remain "a forum—where we can get to know all points of view." Newspapers—and people in the street—feel no hesitation in openly criticizing certain ministers or aspects of government policy. In some rural areas, over-zealous ZANU supporters have physically attacked political rivals, but the government has sternly condemned their actions and brought them to trial before an independent judiciary. Some have been sentenced to prison terms. ZANU has committed itself to returning to the electorate for another mandate when its present term of office expires. It is also hesitant to tamper with the Lancaster House constitution, even though it finds sections of the charter, such as the provision for separate white representation, highly odious. Whether this openness will continue as the revolution radicalizes, or if South Africa's aggression in the region increases, cannot be guaranteed, but Zimbabwe's first year is highly auspicious.



Part I

REGULATION

Reagan attacks on regulation help truly needy corporations



By David Dickson, Gene Frankel, David Johns and Carol MacLennan

WHEN RONALD REAGAN presented his austerity budget on Feb. 18, his message was one for which corporate leaders had fought long and hard, namely that the president intended vigorously to pursue the elimination of "unnecessary" environmental, health and safety regulations, which they claim cut deeply into corporate profits and sap the vitality of the U.S.

Reagan's top-level task-force headed by George Bush to carry out a complete review of federal regulation of the private sector has moved rapidly. At the end of March Bush announced not only that 36 out of 172 so-called "midnight regulations" passed in the last months of the Carter administration were to be killed or indefinitely postponed, but also that 27 regulations already long in effect were to be closely studied to see if they should be modified. These ranged from requirements for testing and marketing new drugs, to rules protecting automobile occupants, to rules for surface mining and leasing of coal mining rights on federal lands.

The new administration's lack of sympathy with groups that have pushed aggressively to control the harmful and unpleasant side-effects of technological growth—and its close identification with the corporations that profit from such growth—has produced a major effort to roll back much of the regulatory work of the last decade. The result will be dirtier air, more highway deaths, increased oc-

cupational disease and death, and generally less compensation for the victims of industrial profit.

But there is a deeper agenda behind the Reagan administration's attempt to limit the scope and impact of regulation. Hidden under the rhetoric of "regulatory reform" is a program to push back the political reforms won in '70s legislative battles that established agencies and laws to begin guarding Americans from major public health threats. The social regulation of the '70s increased public

The underlying issue is whether or not the public should have a voice in determining investment policy.

participation in debates about the effects of technological change. The administration's response must be viewed as an effort to re-establish the ideology that control of industrial production should remain firmly in the hands of corporate directors.

Battles over the role of government in regulating business activities are as old as government itself. Until the late '60s, however, the principal focus was on regulation of the marketplace, a self-protective device to insure that the greed of one party would not ultimately lead to the disadvantage of others (such as anti-trust legislation). The environmental, health and safety regulation contained in laws such as the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 and the National Environmental Protection Act of 1969, however, represented a shift towards public health issues and an attempt to

impose social goals such as clean air and healthy workers on the corporate decision-making process. Such legislation started from the assumption that the level of safeguards that industry considers sufficient for its own ends was not necessarily adequate to meet social needs.

The involvement of citizens and communities in decision-making about technology policy was central to this process. Companies were required to meet goals prescribed by political consensus, not by marketplace give-and-take. Congress set up an Office of Technology Assessment to improve the effectiveness of control over technological development. Environmentalist groups such as the Natural Resources Defense Council and the Environmental Defense Fund used their new-found legislative mandate to pursue corporate foes aggressively through the courts—occasionally demonstrating that the new laws had a far greater potential than Congress intended, as they often contained absolute requirements that gave little scope for administrative discretion.

Perhaps inevitably, this central challenge to the "manager's right to manage" generated a backlash. In isolation, the new environmental and safety laws were a minor irritation. But taken together, the regulatory legislation was perceived as a threat to the free enterprise system, a central component of what one public relations manager characterized as "creeping socialism."

It started with the chemical companies. Many had become culprits in the public's eyes, through stories of the widescale ecological destruction caused by the excessive use of chemical pesticides and fertilizers, or through the companies' production of herbicides and chemical weapons for use in Vietnam. By the late 1970s, determined to regain both credibility and profitability, the companies went on the offensive with heavily financed public relations campaigns warning that "Without chemicals, life itself would be impossible" (Monsanto), or reminding that "we don't live in a risk-free world" (Union Carbide).

In addition, a major analytical effort was mounted by conservative think-tanks

fied by President Ford as an area needing tighter executive control. And the issue was high on the agenda of the Carter administration, which balanced the environmental advocates appointed to the Council on Environmental Quality with "liberal" economists such as Charles Schultze, keen to reconcile public health concerns for health and safety with the mechanics of the free marketplace. One result was the Regulatory Council, a coordinating body in the White House whose goal was, according to anti-inflation czar Alfred Kahn, "to see that the regulatory agencies...followed the lead of the President." Another was the establishment of the Regulatory Analysis Review Group (RARG) under the Council on Wage and Price Stability, whose prime goal was to minimize the impact of impending regulations on business. By the end of Carter's term, control over regulatory agencies was more centralized in the White House than ever before, thus narrowing public access to decisions of vital importance and setting the stage for the new administration's attack.

Under President Carter, regulatory reform was conducted still with the acknowledgement that the marketplace was in itself sufficient to guarantee reasonably clean air, safe cars or non-carcinogenic foodstuffs. In fact, agencies such as the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) were more effective than ever under Carter than under Ford or Nixon. However, under President Reagan, there is little attempt to balance non-market benefits against market costs. Any regulation that appears to impede a free hand for corporations has become a legitimate target for scrutiny, if not rescission.

This lack of concern for the public health is most obvious in Reagan's appointments to regulatory agencies. At the Department of Interior he has put in an arch-opponent of the environmental movement, James Watt, who spearheaded a move to minimize restrictions on mining companies in Colorado, and who is now pursuing the same goal at the national level. Reagan's nomination for



the Environmental Protection Agency is Ann Gorsuch, a close political ally of Watt's from Colorado. Finally, to pay off a political debt, Reagan appointed Thorne Auchter, a former building contractor from Florida with strong sympathy toward management's view of occupational health problems as head of OSHA.

Reagan's economic advisors are of the same stripe. David Stockman, head of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), has long been a foe of government constraints on the marketplace. At OMB, the regulatory agencies will come under the direct control of economist James C. Miller III, previously program manager at the AEL for government regulation studies, and one of the principal conservative critics of social regulation. In addition, Murray L. Weidenbaum, the new director of the White House's Council of Economic Advisors, was previously the editor of the AEL's journal *Regulation*, and author of numerous studies attributing large sums to the economic burden that companies are said to bear from "overregulation."

The primary tactic used by this new generation of "regulatory reformers" is the demand that all future regulations be subject to strict cost-benefit analysis. Disregarding the many warnings about the accuracy and validity of cost-benefit techniques as a policy-making tool, the Reagan administration announced soon after assumption of power that all regulatory agencies in the executive branch were required to assess the relative costs and economic benefits of proposed regulations and to select regulatory strategies where the dollar pay-off was maximized. In a similar vein, the new Republican OSHA has asked the Supreme Court to delay a verdict on whether to let stand new regulations covering exposure to cotton dust that were introduced under the Carter administration. Previously the Court was to rule on whether cost-benefit analysis should be applied to new rules before they were introduced, and the Reagan administration is worried that if the Court rules in OSHA's favor (not to require cost-benefit analysis), its strategy of forcing health and safety decisions into a strict cost matrix would be crippled.

The administration's vigor in reducing social decisions about public safety to the neat columns of an accountant's ledger illustrates two aspects of its broader intentions. First, is to conduct cost-benefit analysis requiring technical skill to restrict the potential involvement of those who either lack such skills, or have no desire to develop them. Second, regulatory reform under Reagan is geared toward the reinstatement of the values of private property and technological progress through legitimating the use of decision-making tools that give the appearance of objectivity. However, as conventionally practiced, cost-benefit analysis tends to deal only with private (or public) property values, omitting considerations of social values that do not fit into this mold.

Both the attempt to head off a measure of public control of corporations, and the efforts to stop questioning of the legitimacy of private production and ownership of commodities, indicate the goals behind the new language of regulatory reform. Through the '70s, many citizens looked to the regulatory techniques applied to social goals of health and safety as a basis for eventually applying the same decision-making processes to corporate investment priorities and the distribution of profits. We are now witnessing a reverse process, with the values that determine corporate investment and marketing strategies extended to cover decisions about the protection of workers, automobile occupants, and community public health.

How the left meets this challenge is one of the biggest political tasks facing the democratic movement in the months and years ahead.

This is the first of a series of articles on the politics of social regulation based on seminars held this winter at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. The seminar series was organized by David Dickson, Gene Frankel, David Johns and Carol MacLennan.

DAVID MOBERG

Leftist trade unionists face Reagan challenge

THERE'S NO QUESTION BUT the labor movement is facing tough times. Reagan budget and economic policies, corporate demands for concessions, business opposition to unionism in any form, the decline of industries where unions have been strong, ineffectiveness of traditional weapons against multinationals and conglomerates—all these are part of the avalanche of troubles that press the unions to come up with new approaches.

While many labor union leaders seem stymied by these assaults and have begun to talk more about cooperation with the corporations as the solution, there is also a strain within the labor movement that sees a need to join the conflict with new tactics and strategies as well as more, rather than less, ambitious goals.

The newsletter, *Labor Notes*, published by the Labor Education and Research Project (LERP) that was initiated by the International Socialists, pulled together around 575 union activists who represent one part of the advocates of greater militancy in Detroit on April 11-12. Although the bulk of people present were part of the "industrialized left," consciously political people who went into factories, there was a respectable representation of indigenous working-class people who share similar goals. In any case, most of the left organizers had already put in years, even decades, in their workplaces and unions. Although many had participated in sometimes shrill factions in the past, their experience seemed to have tempered their ideological purity with an awareness of the difficulties labor faces.

Their work indeed seemed so nitty-gritty, so immersed in the details of bargaining, elections and handling grievances, that they hadn't been able to give sufficient time to thinking about precisely those grandiose issues that confound the top officials. But they had engaged in solid, if localized, activity, such as

- leading a militant local in a San Diego shipyard,
- running insurgent campaigns in the Steelworkers,
- striking to prevent employer take-aways of Teamster cost-of-living increases,
- demanding the right to know everything about chemicals used in oil and chemical locals as well as full company medical records on workers,
- working to control new computerized technology in the auto and telecommunications industries,
- organizing against sexual harassment of clerical workers in government agencies, or
- holding out for nearly two years in

a battle with a multinational, Colt Industry's Menasco division, that tried aggressive and expensive scabbing.

What linked them together was a belief that "democracy in the unions and effectiveness are inseparable," as LERP director Kim Moody said. Although there was frequent criticism of the existing labor leadership for neglecting the South,

Experience has tempered their ideological purity with reason.



Crystal Lee Sutton of the Textile Workers was one of many labor militants attending the *LABOR NOTES* Detroit conference, April 11-12.

supporting low-wage anti-communist dictators overseas, pursuing only "nickel and dime bargaining," granting concessions too easily in today's climate and bureaucratically excluding members, Moody made it clear that they saw themselves as "with the labor movement" in opposition to the two main nemeses—the corporations and Reagan. If there were heroes of the moment, they were the striking mineworkers and the Polish Solidarity movement, which was seen as an example of the democratic militancy the U.S. needs.

But beyond those two reliable old stan-

dard prescriptions—more militancy and more democracy—conference speakers had only a few proposals. One was to return to some old strategies, such as the general strike—threatened with good effect in the recently concluded Philadelphia transit strike—and the political strike—approximated by the mineworkers' march against black lung benefit cuts.

Labor writer Sid Lens urged that given the choice between morality and legality, the unions must be willing to break the law when necessary, using secondary boycotts and other sympathy actions. "When we are willing to take those steps," Ken Paff of Teamsters for a Democratic Union said, "we'll be able to organize millions of the unorganized." In the Menasco strike, for example, loyal union supporters joined the scabs occasionally and management soon found that many of its machines were suffering serious damage. And Ken Galloway of the Philadelphia transit workers' caucus, "Driving Force," told how links with community groups strengthened the union in its strike.

Ironically, despite the shared belief that the labor movement had to be political to succeed, few of the conference participants seemed to have been involved

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ROBERTA LYNCH

And fellow workers, now a crown of Thorne

By Roberta Lynch

ITEM: "AS THE NEW ADMINISTRATOR of the Federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration, Thorne G. Auchter...ordered the destruction of 100,000 booklets about cotton dust, a cause of brown lung disease in textile workers.... An agency spokesman said Mr. Auchter found the cover—a photograph of a gravely ill worker—offensive." *New York Times*, March 29.

Thorne Auchter, the newly appointed director of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), announced today that his agency will no longer waste its energies on the uphill battle to eliminate health and safety hazards in the workplace.

"Efficiency is the name of the game," Auchter said. "Why should we spend our time on something we know isn't going to work? Hazards are here to stay. They're part of the American enterprise system. And it only serves to give management a black eye when we keep pointing them out. How can we expect businesses to expand when they have to keep investing in expensive public relations campaigns in order to make an uneducated public understand that hot molten steel spills are simply a necessary cost of doing business?"

Auchter, whose background is in the construction industry, observed that the dangers of the workplace are minor when compared to the risks run by those who check into hospitals. "More people die in hospital beds each year than are killed in all the workplaces of America,"



he pointed out. "Or take nursing homes. The death rate in those places is phenomenal. You don't see the government rushing in to inspect their bed-pans every month, now do you?"

"Our goal is to determine how to make the best use of the limited resources that we have," the director said. "Cost-benefit analysis is the best tool we have to further that process and we intend to make full use of it." Responding to critics who have questioned the practice of computing a benefit by putting a dollar value on a human life, Auchter insisted that they have misunderstood the approach. "We don't deal in human lives," he said, "we deal in economic lives. How else can you measure a person in this society except by his earning capacity?"

Cost-benefit analysis will allow for targetting of workplaces for OSHA inspections rather than trying to cover the whole field, according to the agency head. "Our initial studies suggest that the only places where it is really efficient to focus our efforts are those job sites that employ at least 20 white males earning over \$50,000 a year," he opined.

OSHA will certainly continue to exist, Auchter said. "Why should I want to put myself out of a job?" he asked. "Also, you have no idea since I know I appear a little grim—what a pleasant life it's been so far. I've been able to light quite a few fires at that place. We've been burning booklets as fast as we can find them."

Carried away with his subject, Auchter castigated the previous administration for its one-sided handling of the agency. "You can't imagine the stuff we're finding," he said. "Hundreds of thousands of pamphlets informing workers of the hazards that they're exposed to! You know people are very suggestible. You start telling them about the dangers of this or that and pretty soon, they're going to be seeing hazards everywhere they look."

Auchter said that this could precipitate a widespread breakdown of the work process. "I can just see where workers will start thinking that they have to know every little chemical that they're working with or even start refusing to work with certain things just because some government bureaucrat has written a booklet suggesting that they might be hazardous. Can you imagine the disaster that could result?"

"We're out to end this kind of biased approach," the new director stated. As part of his campaign to rectify what he sees as an anti-management thrust in the agency's past practices, Auchter is shifting agency resources in a new direction. "We're going to be putting much more of a focus on employee compliance in the near future," he explained. "We have a transition team report that indicates that thousands of workers return from lunch each day and forget to put their respirators on. We want to start making examples of some of these people. A few stiff fines might begin to make it clear that we mean business."

When questioned as to whether such an approach is within the present scope of the law, Auchter insisted that it was in keeping with the spirit of the law. "We don't want to get bogged down in technicalities," he stressed. "The important thing is to get the agency on the right track—neutrality. I'd like to see us get to the point where we can demonstrate that on a dollar basis—where for every dollar leveled against employers in fines an equivalent amount will have been leveled against employees. Then you'd know this office is really doing its job."

OSHA's youthful head said that his own top priority is the continuation of a campaign that recently got off the ground with the destruction of the 100,000 cotton dust booklets. "You should have seen the guy on the cover of that pamphlet," Auchter said. "The man was seriously ill. He looked awful. There's no way that kind of picture isn't going to have a prejudicial effect. People look at it and they just react very emotionally at the idea that a company could do this to someone. They don't stop to think through all the problems that company has, how hard it is to do business in

America today—all the regulations that company has to worry about, the competition from imports and so on. De facto, a picture like that is anti-management."

"We're now going to take this program a step further," Auchter said. "We want to get out there and have an impact on the real world. We've got to target the real problem—the disabled worker himself. If you think it's offensive to have to look at a picture of one of them, think how much more offensive it is to have to look at the person in the flesh. We've got these people walking all around America today. Workers missing an arm or a leg because of an industrial accident. Workers who are huffing and puffing ev-

Cotton Dust: Worker Health Alert

U.S. Department of Labor
Occupational Safety and Health Administration
1980

OSHA 3065



This worker offended management by getting sick.

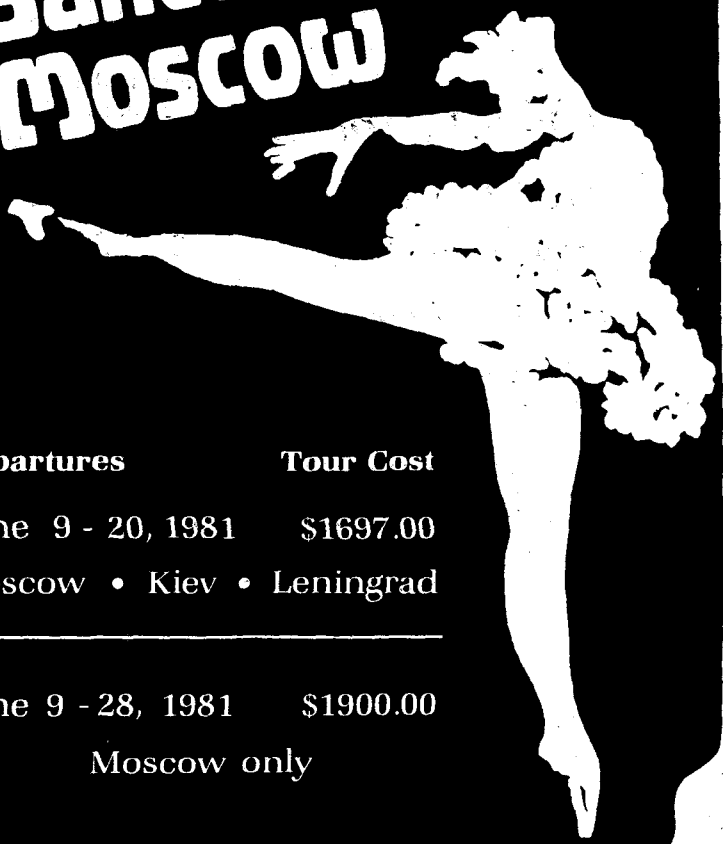
ery time they walk up a few stairs because of something they breathed on the job. Workers who are being eaten up by cancer. Those people are giving American industry a bad name."

"We're going to be looking for ways to lower the visibility of such people," Auchter explained. "No photographs of them will be allowed, no appearances at public events. We might even be able to figure out some way to keep them off the streets at certain hours. Besides looking offensive, they can slow things down a lot," he added.

Auchter was asked if he had a target date for completion of this phase of OSHA's operation. "Yes," he replied, "We're aiming for 1984."

Roberta Lynch is active in the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization.

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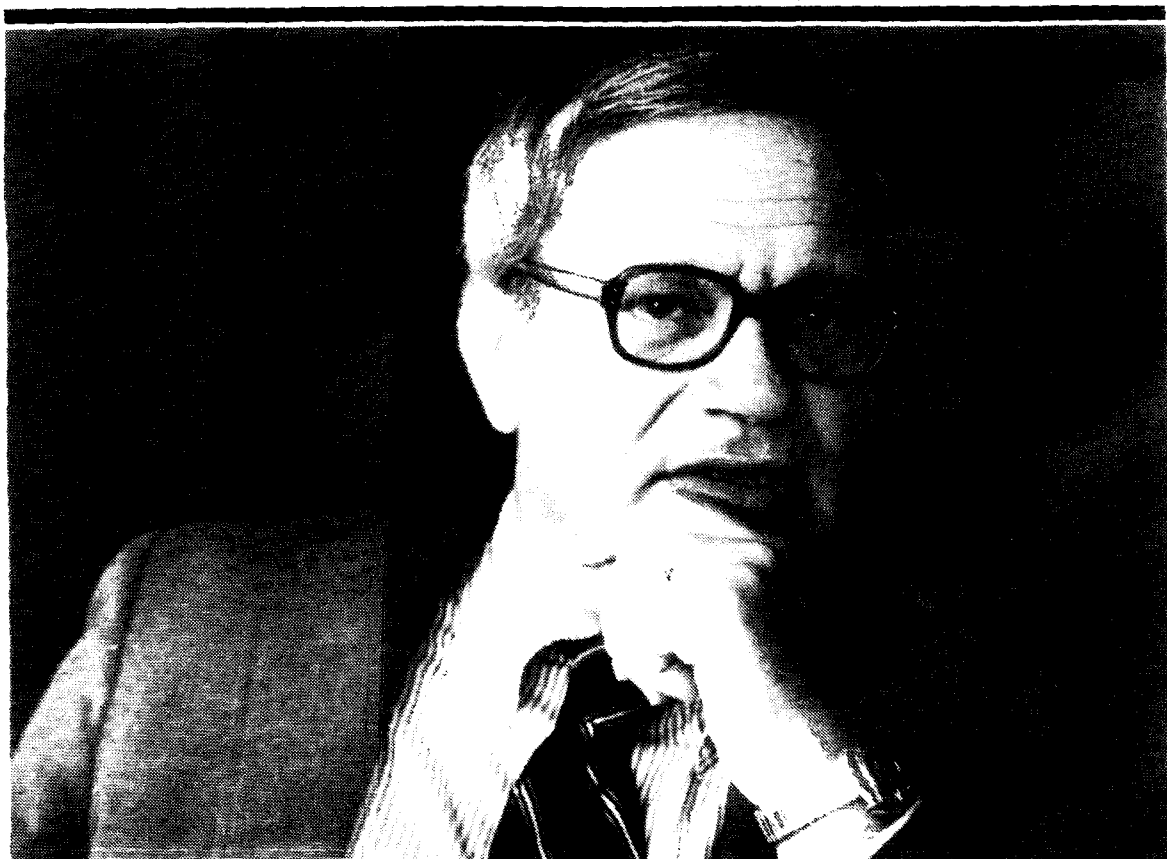
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Frank Mankiewicz, president of NPR, calls budget cuts an "unintended abolition of public radio." Now they look like part of a plan.

PUBLIC BROADCASTING

The sounds of silence

By Pat Aufderheide

"I live on food stamps, social security and public TV."

—fan letter from a rural retiree

Soon there may be music on your radio where news used to be and ads on your public TV channel. Federal funds for public broadcasting are in jeopardy. In fact, some people in federal government think the whole idea of public broadcasting is a waste of time.

"The contribution of public broadcasting to society is debatable," reads the April version of budget revisions suggested by the Office of Management and Budget.

"Any benefit non-listeners and non-viewers receive from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting is purely conjectural and more than likely non-existent. Thus, there is no overriding national justification for the funding of CPB."

"Moreover, the audience of CPB-supported stations tends to be wealthier and more educated than the general populace. ...Taxpayers as a whole should not be compelled to subsidize entertainment for a select few."

The OMB recommended a 25 percent cut in funds to CPB, which distributes monies to National Public Radio and to the Public Broadcasting System. It also recommended that funds already allocated for the next two years be rescinded.

Public radio and TV people no longer hope to escape harsh budget cuts. They're trying to avoid a wholesale dismantling of the system, and to preserve a hard-won principle: protection of public broadcasting from governmental ire.

Insulation.

"I want this system to shock, and when it does I don't want Congress to be able to turn off the juice," said Senator Hugh Scott in 1967.

His fears of governmental meddling were real. As docu-

ments released by the Carter administration showed, Nixon tampered extensively with public broadcasting, especially TV, and succeeded, for example, in cutting down national news production. He vetoed CPB's budget authorization and warned there would be no long-range funding without more pro-administration attitudes. In 1975 legislation was enacted that guaranteed CPB funding two years in advance, with an eye to insulating public broadcasting from immediate political retribution as well as to allow for planning.

The Reagan administration's demand to rescind the next two years' funding strikes directly at the insulation principle.

Further, the logic of rescission bears a suspicious resemblance to Nixon's concerns. Once again public affairs and national programming are under attack. Warren Hillman, an OMB budget analyst, admitted that the goal is "to maximize control at the local level." The original OMB proposal reads, "Program development can be achieved much more effectively—and at a far lower cost—at the local and regional level."

That depends, of course, on what you mean by "effectively." NPR has the lowest production budget of any major news organization in the U.S. CPB's total appropriation for last year was less than ABC's budget for *Masada*. Locally produced public affairs programs are less likely to be investigative, partly because of the cost and partly because many stations are more politically conservative and less innovative than national production centers. As Pluria Marshall of the National Black Media Coalition recently testified in Congress, minority programming is less likely at a local than at a national level.

Public broadcasters oppose rescission on First Amendment grounds. As NPR president Frank Mankiewicz said, "It puts politicians in the control booth." So far, Congress seems to agree

that rescission would set a dangerous precedent. Three of four congressional subcommittees have now rejected rescission. In the fourth, the House Appropriations subcommittee, rescission was rejected for 1982 but approved for 1983—a compromise that abandons the principle of insulation. The issue now goes to the full House committee. (It has been definitively rejected in the Senate.) Both House and Senate would have to approve it by early May in order for rescission to take effect.

Both liberals and conservatives have supported the broadcasters. In the Senate, conservatives Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) and Pete Domenici (R-N.M.) both opposed rescission. In the House, liberal Tim Wirth (D-Colo.), who heads the communications subcommittee, urged opposition.

During a hearing on CPB's 1984-86 authorizations, Wirth's conservative colleague James Collins (R-Tex.) raised the "Death of a Princess" issue, asking why they should support a medium that goes about "getting involved in international issues, in trying to stir up adversaries."

"That is precisely why we had advanced funding," an exasperated Wirth replied before broadcasters could respond. For program content to influence funding decisions "treads on some of the most fundamental rights that exist in this country," he continued.

If rescission were approved, NPR would be hardest and most immediately hit. Stockman's scheme would simply eliminate the national program budget. Most stations take about 25 percent of their programming from NPR's service, including *All Things Considered* and *Morning Edition*. "Instead of having access to a universe of information and performance," said an NPR station manager in Chapel Hill, N.C., "we'd be playing records."

Stockman's dismissal of public broadcasting depends on describing it as an elitist service to

"a select few." Conservatives are quick to agree. Even before the Stockman revisions, Aram Bakshian—now a Reagan assistant on cultural affairs—typified NPR as an "electronic luxury service aimed at a small, affluent and unrepresentative audience." In March William Safire called for an end to public broadcasting. "We are asked," he wrote, "Without the dollars from the middle class, how will the aristocracy be informed and entertained?"

Aristocracy? Affluent? Unrepresentative? Broadcasters are flailing Nielsen survey results and statistics. Look, they say: in January black families—which make up more than 10 percent of both public radio and public TV audiences—watched more hours of public TV than white families did. Look: a third of public radio-listening and 42 percent of public TV-watching households have less than \$15,000 annual income. Look: half of public radio-listening and 60 percent of public TV-watching households are headed by a high school graduate. All that is roughly comparable to the proportions in the "general populace."

What about elitist content? "When we showed *La Boheme*," said a PBS spokesperson, "more people saw it than had ever seen it in its history of performance. Was that elitist programming? A lot of people wanted to see it." In radio, news draws in 57 percent of those demographically-representative listeners, next only to classical music (66 percent).

Unfortunately, the already snobbish cast of public broadcasting's image has been helped along by recent commercializing gambits. When several public TV stations put out a program guide that carried advertising, *The Dial*, they touted their audiences' "upscale"—wealthy, consumerist, professional—characteristics. It's hard now to remind legislators of the differences between subscribers (less than 10 percent of listeners and viewers) and audiences.

OMB wants government out of public TV and radio. So do some of the stations.

That elitist image betrays another, deeper problem for public broadcasting: the amorphous definition of its public and of the service it offers. Traditionally—and increasingly—public broadcasting has had little accountability to any section of the public, other than that served by audience ratings and angry letters to congressmen and station managers.

Striking evidence of public broadcasting's weak relationship to any specific public or public need is revealed in widely-heard conciliatory arguments about budget cuts.

"If they're going to start cutting Medicaid," Mankiewicz said, "who are we to say, 'Don't cut public broadcasting?'" Staffers at CPB and PBS shrug shoulders and repeat a litany: "When they're cutting food stamps..." Somehow, even for broadcasters, Medicaid and food stamps appear more necessary than information produced independently of commercial sponsors.

Rather than arguing for the necessity for informed as well as physically strong citizens, public broadcasters tacitly accept the premises that social services should compete with each other—while defense spending, for example, continues.

Future funds.

Even if public broadcasting escapes rescission it still faces a fight on authorization bills for 1984-86 that will be considered in May. All of them propose not only dramatic cutbacks but changes in structure. The most funding for CPB is provided in a bill sponsored by Wirth, suggesting \$160 million in 1984 for CPB (down from Carter's suggested \$187 million and decreasing in future years rather than increasing as Carter had suggested). Bills from Senator Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.), S.270, and from Collins, H.R.2774, each begin decreasing funding authorization at \$110 million. Since appropriation always is lower than authorization, even in the happiest scenario public broadcasting will be poor (or, as the current euphemism goes, "lean").

But money may not be the worst of it. Other aspects of the bills change the sense of "public" in public broadcasting:

- Both the Goldwater and Collins bills approve advertising on public TV. Goldwater further urges the FCC to loosen commercial restrictions. (Wirth's bill only approves corporate logos, not ads.)

- The Goldwater and Collins bills abolish requirements for community advisory boards, and only Wirth's bill provides a penalty if public stations do not hold open meetings.

- The Goldwater and Collins bills cut in half the size of the CPB board, probably lessening minority input.

- Those bills also eliminate CPB's payment of interconnection charges between stations. (Wirth's bills let CPB pick up half the charge.) This last is a body blow to the system, since many TV stations will not be able to pay the fee to exchange programming.

The marketplace logic of bills like Goldwater's and Collins' bring elitism to the system, if it wasn't there before. Most obvious is the growing importance of commercial projects in setting priorities for public broadcasters. (See *In These Times*, Dec. 17.) For instance, PBS is proposing "The Grand Alliance," a project to record, for sale on videotape or pay TV, cultural programs in conjunction with cultural institutions. Perhaps a year later, in a "second run," those programs would go to public TV. This scheme runs in hot competition with similar services being planned by commercial networks, and has the advantage of appealing to that famous upscale public TV membership. While energy, studio time and equipment go to the "Grand Alliance," shows such as *Latino* public affairs or anti-nuclear exposes—with at least as large a potential audience but one that is not "upscale"—will not be being made. And there may be no publicly-mandated mechanism to demand such programming, either. Removal of community advisory boards and open meetings eat away at any vestiges of public accountability.

Strong stations will get stronger, and the weaker will collapse, especially through cuts in the Public Telecommunications Facilities Program. This program provides money for upgrading

Continued on page 15

Public

Continued from page 13
and installing new equipment.

A station like WVMR, in Pocahontas Co., Va., would be the loser. The hilly mining region with its poverty-stricken population has always been inaccessible to radio. Now with satellite dishes available through PTFP, a public station is being planned—if hardware funds are not rescinded. Similarly, the La Courte Oreilles band of the Ojibwa tribe in northern Wisconsin is on the verge of establishing service, also with PTFP money that could fall through. A station like the (non-NPR) public station WORT in Madison—so successful it gets more listeners than the giant WHA in the same city—depends on PTFP to upgrade its jerry-rigged, 20-year-old equipment.

Public broadcasting, under the free-market logic, would reach those who could afford to get it, with the messages that would sell something to them. Public broadcasters desperately argue that the general public—not just listeners and viewers—is in fact being served by the current system. "Do we make this kind of argument for education?" a PBS spokesman said. "How about for housing, or for high-

SYLVIA



ways?"

But beyond general arguments, public broadcasters cannot find common ground on which to oppose threats. NPR people favor an authorization bill in which the burden for cutbacks would fall more heavily on TV than radio. Some public TV stations, on the other hand, would gladly give up federal dollars if the government will free them to leap into the marketplace.

William J. McCarter, president of WTTW (Chicago), called for "aggressive testing" of profitable gambits, especially advertising, in a congressional hearing. He cited a study WTTW had commissioned showing the station could have raised \$6 million in advertising last year. A repre-

sentative of WETA (Washington), which pioneered *The Dial*, followed in calling for loosened restrictions on advertising.

Other TV stations, including a handful of non-production stations in small markets, submitted an independent authorization bill in the House. That bill would channel all available money to the stations, cutting out CPB's role. They find CPB favors the bigger production stations. This suggestion would destroy NPR, since its core is national programming with CPB-distributed funds.

Radio and TV have different alternative-funding options. NPR's legislative liaison Walda Roseman explained, "The radio marketplace is formatted—peo-

ple punch up sounds, and we have a noncommercial sound. For our stations to carry ads they would have to change their format, unlike TV, which can cluster ads around mass-appeal programs. And we can't have pay radio like pay TV—people listen to radio on the move, and they won't carry a portable decoder.

"The marketplace philosophy is based on the behavior of large TV stations. There are also lots of public TV stations caught in this economic stereotype."

Public broadcasting will have to come up with alternative funding, even if all its lobbying succeeds. And all the indicators point even further away from a role for the public in public broadcasting.

Public broadcasting's combination of public and private aspects is just one of the kinks in its Rube Goldbergesque machinery. Public broadcasting has weathered a decentralization and partial dismantling under two administrations. Its federal support has never been generous. Public spending on all the arts in the U.S. is low—one estimate compares 74 cents a person here with \$3.60 in England and \$11.83 in France. Another estimate describes all federal giving to the arts as just enough to run the Pentagon for eight hours.

Now that the very notion of a publicly-supported broadcasting system is being challenged, the jerry-rigging is starting to show.

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IMAGES OF LABOR

Images of Labor
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By Rachel Cowan

IMAGES OF LABOR IS THE FIRST coffee-table book that I not only want to have on my coffee table (if that's what you call the object in front of the couch where people more often rest their feet than their coffee cups), but that I feel I can afford to put there—at least in paperback. I want it there, not to show off to my friends, but to browse through frequently, and to share with my children. For the images it presents—some lovely, some graphic, some frightening—will inform their consciousness for the rest of their lives.

How can they forget Nicola Sacco or his words: "It is true, indeed, that they can execute the body, but they cannot execute the idea which is bound to live," once they've seen Milton Glazer's painting of two upraised arms, bound with rope at the wrist, whose hands form the silhouette of a dove about to take flight?

The book is a collection of 32 original works of art by prominent contemporary artists, each of which expresses the artist's response to a quotation relating to labor or labor history. Graphically it is striking to open the book: each quotation is set on a blank white page facing the work of art. (The paper is thick, high quality stock.) In the back of the book is a text that describes briefly the person quoted and places the words in their historical context. Thus, on one page is Lucy Parsons's statement that "We are slaves of slaves. We are exploited more ruthlessly than men." On the facing page is May Steven's elegant portrait of Lucy Parsons, bordered with a blue, flowered frame, and overlain with a woman's firm handwriting repeating the quotation. In the back, we learn that Lucy Parsons was a black woman, whose husband Albert was executed for the Haymarket riots, who devoted her life to educating workers about socialism. She spoke these words at the founding convention of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905.

Irving Howe, in his introduction to the book, attributes the absence of labor

themes and images from American culture to an overwhelming national nostalgia for simpler times, when each person could hope to grow rich by his own hard work. This nostalgia fosters the illusions that America has no working class. "To block out of our national consciousness the lives of millions upon millions of human beings is a form of snobbery. It is reactionary. It is inhumane."

Howe's premise lies at the core of the Bread and Roses project, whose director Moe Foner conceived the book and commissioned the art works. District 1199 of the National Union of Health Care and Hospital Workers has sponsored Bread and Roses for two years as a way to bring cultural experiences to their members in their workplaces and to bring concerns and visions of workers into the larger culture. This book acts as an expanded catalog of the Images of Labor exhibit, which opens at Gallery 1199 in New York on April 15. It reproduces the paintings, drawings and collages and has photographs of the sculptures, ceramics and mixed media constructions that comprise the exhibit.

Since the book includes all the works of the exhibition, it is unavoidably uneven. The sculptures and the constructions are not easily appreciated as two-dimensional photographs. Ralph Fasanello's painting cries out for more space, since his richly detailed images are so small on the page.

But the variety of artistic responses to the central challenge is exciting. Some

The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds.

—Abraham Lincoln

works stand on their own: others must be viewed in conjunction with the quotations. Seymour Chwast's costumed characters hover over a small working man—alone the picture is not fascinating, but with Ogden Nash's lyric "Pride Goeth Before a Raise" it is bitingly satirical.

Honore Sherrers' wealthy couple drinks champagne at an elegant banquet, the man's mustache suggesting a plutocrat, the woman's face cold and cruel. It's a caricature, though delicately crafted, but becomes more important with the facing quote from George Meany: "We still have those who believe in the archaic traditions of the 1880s and 1890s: those who believe America is built from the top down, that if you keep the great corporations fat and wealthy, enough will trickle down to keep those at the lower level of our economic structure happy and contented."

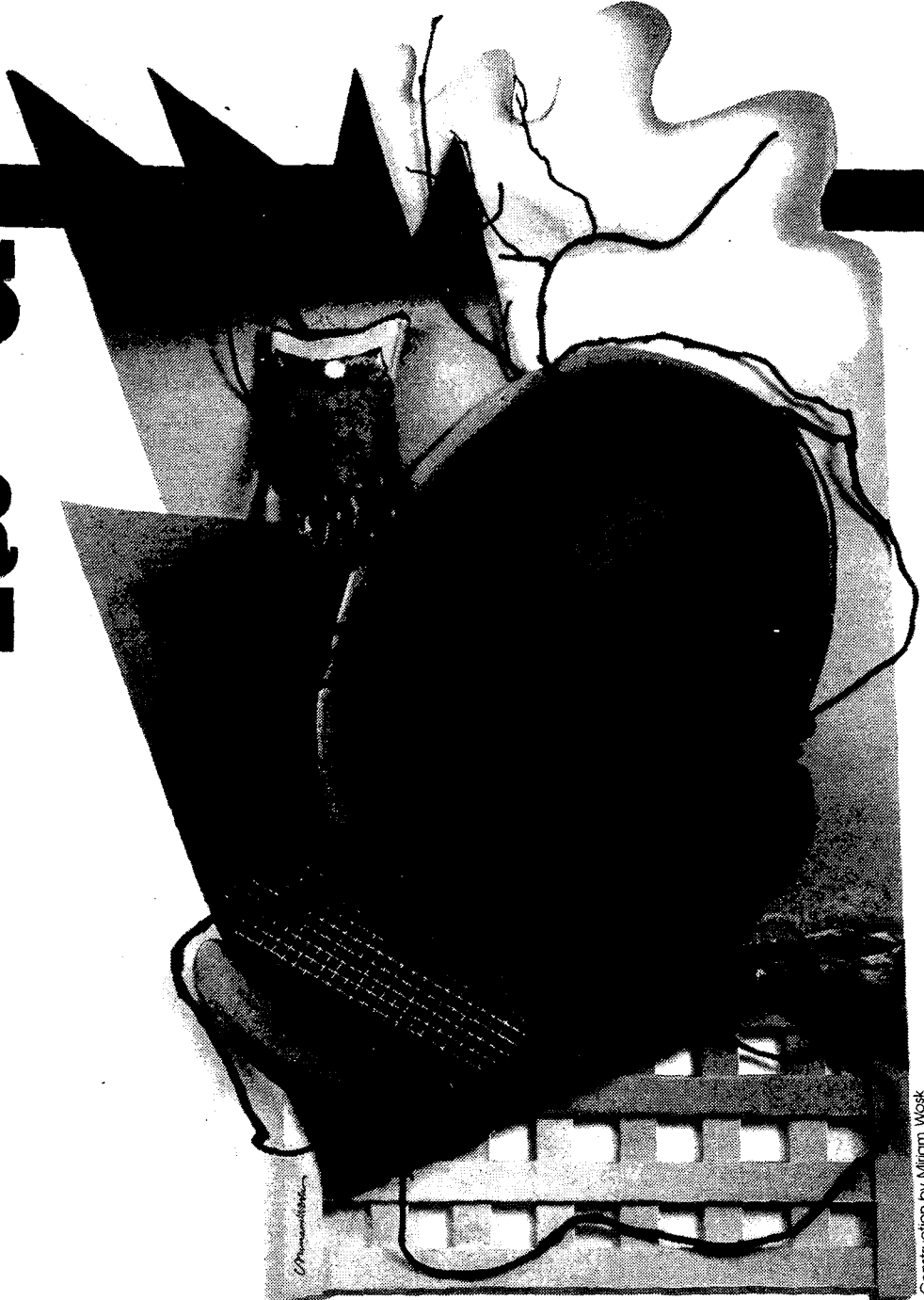
Other works are splendid on their own. They need no text to explain them. Audrey Flack's portrait of Sojourner Truth suggests an old photograph and evokes the woman's dignity and strength, set off by the softness of the vase of flowers and the lace-edged shawl. Alice Neel has created a compelling portrait of Frances Perkins. Jacqueline Chwast's papercut of the spirit of black women soaring from the kitchen to grasp the moon is simple but evocative.

Some works would make striking posters—Glazer's roped wrists, Sue Coe's muscled factory worker or Paul Davis' lyrical harvest scene that goes with verse seven of Job, "Man is born to labor and the bird to fly." And a few are not terribly interesting. They are either insipid, like Jack Beal's Bread & Roses, or too literal, or too polemical for my taste, like Anton von Dalen's harlot.

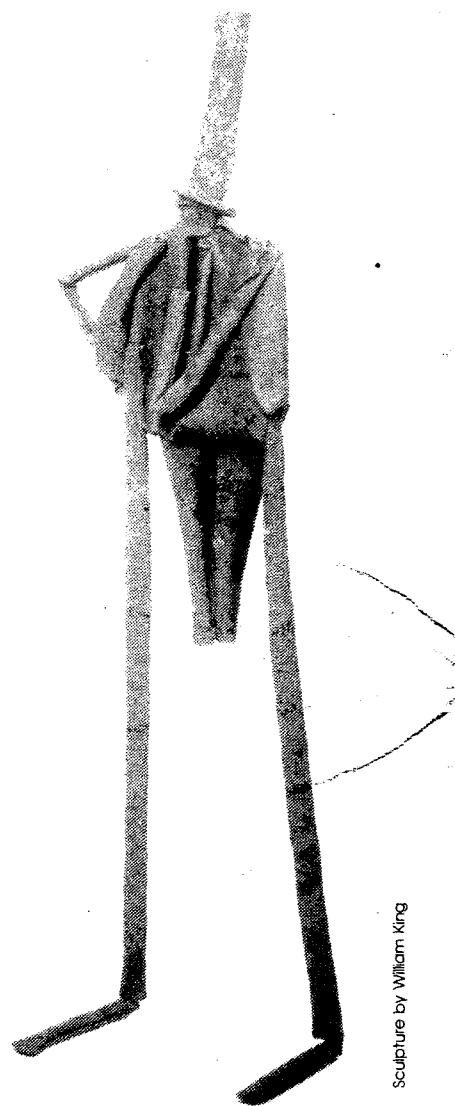
But as a whole, *Images of Labor* works well. In fact, it works so well for me that

When people have melons or cucumbers or carrots or lettuce, they don't know how they got on their table, and the consequences to the people who picked them. If I had enough money, I would take busloads of people out to the fields and into the labor camps. Then they'd know how that fine salad got on their table.

—Roberto Acuna
Farm worker



Construction by Miriam Wolk



Sculpture by William King

Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted. And ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man—when I could get it—and bear the lash as well—And ain't I a woman?

—Sojourner Truth



Painting by Audrey Flack